THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

November 15, 1947

PROPAGANDIST YU PIN

AN EDITORIAL

The Kuomintang In Taiwan

D. Y. Lanne

Red Land Reform

Wang Sze-Zee

Death Of A Hangchow Student

Fred Ling

SMUGGLING AND BRIBERY

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 107 CNC$10,000 NUMBER 11

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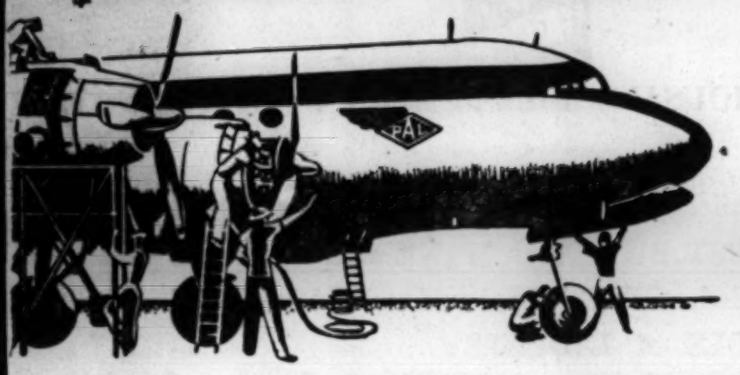

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Busy Month

To The Editor:

I was greatly affected by Mr. S. T.'s "Busy Month" in the Oct. 11 issue of the *Review;* indeed, the Chinese people's servants are very busy, but their "busying" has done nothing for the empty stomach of the Chinese people.

The commodity prices have been soaring all the time. The underpaid Chinese civil servants are living an existence they can hardly endure; they cannot support their wives and children on their salaries. In order to maintain their families, many have made use of their positions to graft. They are forced to do so; "stealth comes from starvation." And that is also why graft and corruption are prevailing in China at present. These are the most urgent crises in China, to wipe them out, the first step the government should adopt is to safeguard the livelihood of the Chinese civil servants. I appeal to the government to base the salaries of the Chinese civil servants based on the living index.

HSU SHIH CHEN.

Kaifeng, Honan,
October 29, 1947.

Soldiers' Songs

To The Editor:

I am a Chinese student at Swatow and I frequently hear our American teachers saying that your newspaper is the best one in our country. It has become their constant companion as the thoughts expressed in your paper are just and the news correct and besides this you are always willing to help people. Therefore I beg to approach you with a request for the text and musical notes of the American army, navy and air-corp soldiers' songs in which I am very much interested.

I frequently go to the movies and enjoy these American soldiers' songs but it is too hard for me to remember the words and tunes completely. I have been combing the local book companies for the text with musical notes, but in vain. I have also asked my American teachers but without success.

As all of you are scholars, I believe that some of you are familar with these new songs and I would be very much obliged if you would let me know where I could get them or better still if you could let me have the musical notes with the text to be copied by myself and then I would return the originals to you immediately.

I am anxiously awaiting your reply and thanking you very much for your assistance in advance.

TAN HONG NI.

Swatow, Fukien,
October 30, 1947.

Improve Thyself

To The Editor:

Some people think the Kuomintang wants to fight the Civil War; others may think that the Communists want to bring about peace when they succeed in crushing the government forces on all fronts. Each side tries to enlist public opinion in its own favor and convince the common men that it is the

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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saviour. It is a pity that the Chinese people do not care for politics. They want peace and sufficient food to keep alive. As the Civil War drags on and peace is as remote as ever, the people hate to hear about fighting for principles. They do not care about victories gained on one side or on the other. But the controlling authorities on either side need the people's support in men, material and money. All these the people are not willing to contribute, except very reluctantly. The common men under the Communists think the KMT Government and its people are rotton because they are rich and oppress the poor. So they are. Likewise, people not satisfied with the Government hope for a change, be it Communist or a foreign emperor. They ignore just as does everybody else in this country that the collapse of the present Government will bring about more chaos and suffering. The Communists if in power could do no better. We must remember that good government is the product of good people. It is very easy to criticize corruption and incompetence, but not to include oneself. China will be saved when every individual will be less selfish, stop squeezing on minor matters as well. This is none of the business of the Kuomintang or the Communists. In China's case a change of government or a dynasty will not help. Improve yourself, your family, your neighbour, and then the government will be clean and efficient. The present government can be corrected, not necessarily overthrown. They are not the best, but not the worst, because we have none better.

C. E. CHEN.

Shanghai,
November 9, 1947.

Three Months!

To The Editor:

Thanks for your kind letter and the complimentary copy with another renewal form, both of which call my attention to the fact that my subscription to the *Review* expired. This, as you say in your note, may be an oversight on my part. I regret to say that is not so. I have tried every possible means to get funds enough to pay the rate but in vain.

As a teacher of a government senior middle school in Hunan, I may, nominally draw a monthly income of CNC$325×1300+340,000 or CNC$762,500, since the readjustments in August. But as a matter of fact I have only received CNC$-325×1000+200,000 or CNC$525,000 a month since August. The arrears of $237,500 has been delayed nearly three months. In a word, teachers cannot get their arrears of salary until three months or more have passed. What a great difference the money makes after a period of three months! A picul of rice cost only CNC$100,000 in Yuanling at the end of August. But now the same quantity costs me more than CNC$400,000. This is why I have to cut down on the necessities of my life. I enjoy reading the *Review*, as it gives me correct and true information as well as sound and frank criticism on conditions in China. I am, indeed, very sorry to postpone my renewal order. I take for granted that I will receive my arrears of salary in the near future, and hope you will be kind enough to do me an exceptional favor, and mail me the *Review* (airmail) on credit. Otherwise I shall be compelled to suspend my subscription.

I am sure I will be able to send you the order before November 15, as surely as I returned every book borrowed from Mr. Powell, Senior, when a regular subscriber before World War II.

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October, but what use is it after a period of three months from the due time? Editor, won't you write against it? I know you will do us much good if you do so.

B. T. T.

Yuanling, Hunan,
October 30, 1947.

Modern Essays

To The Editor:

I am interested in the English lesson started in the Oct. 18 issue of your *Review*. I hope it will improve my English and hope also that you will introduce some famous modern essays and explain them for us.

CHEN TA PENG.

Peiping,
October 26, 1947.

Unconquerable Will

To The Editor:

I appreciate greatly Mr. Lao Pai-Hsing's well written article "Mr. Bullitt's 'Sensible' Report on China" (Oct. 25 issue of the *Review*), because it represents the righteous views and opinions of every patriotic Chinese lao pai hsing. Every Chinese who is unwilling to be enslaved by Uncle San or to be his 'Yesman' will strongly oppose the reactionary views of Mr. Bullitt who attempts to colonize China under the pretext of being "anti-Soviet." Viewing Mr. Bullitt's past political history, we instantly see the aim of his report. He is anti-democratic from head to foot; he is our enemy. We Chinese people, should lodge our protest against the dumping of U.S. goods, loans and military aid to China which will lead to no other result than the prolongation of the Civil War and the suffering of the Chinese people. Furthermore we have to warn Mr. Bullitt and all other warmongers that we Chinese people will not welcome such men as MacArthur and Wedemeyer to China if their aims are to enslave China. The staunch will of the 450,000,000 Chinese people to fight for a democratic China and to protect their national sovereignty is unconquerable either by force or temptation.

JEAN C. YAO.

Shanghai,
November 2, 1947.

Advice Please!

To The Editor:

Mr. Amos Wong in his article "A Doctor's Appeal" in your magazine (Nov. 1 issue) said that he is worried about the welfare of the medical profession in China. As a layman with no command of any difficult medical terminology, I feel more worried about the welfare of the poor Chinese people in the hands of the doctors working in the Government hospitals in Nanking.

When my wife had been pregnant for about seven months, I accompanied her to a No. 1 Government hospital here in Nanking for the so-called pre-birth examination. We waited for three full hours to get a serial number, then another three hours for our turn to see the doctor. Knowing how inadequate are the medical facilities here in the capital for poor people like us who cannot pay high charges we were rather glad for what we had experienced.

My wife, following the doctor's advice, went to the said hospital for several pre-birth examinations, including one time when the doctor lost her "record" and she had to start everything anew. When the baby was about due, to our great surprise we were told that my wife would be admitted to the hospital only after the birth pains started and that her entry would still depend on the vacancies in the ward. We pleaded and argued but were told by the doctor, "Since there are other private hospitals, why don't you go to one of them?"

Nonplussed, we went for a personal letter from one of our friends, knowing that a personal letter is always 100 times more influential than the seriousness of one's case to a doctor in a Government hospital. Fortunately, our friend happens to be the cousin of the headman of a No. 2 Government hospital. Upon showing the personal letter, my wife was admitted to a first class ward of this hospital.

The second day I visited my wife in the hospital, she told me there was no bathroom or lavatory in this hospital, and that the food was absolutely uneatable. I contacted the headman and was told that in these hard times, one must just forget about baths. As to the problem of one's natural urgencies, he said that "ma-tung" or a wooden lavatory would be brought to anyone by the hospital amah by paying a little tip each time. "You know how small an allowance we are receiving from the Government, so her food must be prepared at your home and brought here by yourself," he added. Since I had my own work in the day, I hired an amah to prepare food right in the hospital, together with 30 odd amahs who also prepared food for their mistresses.

On the following day, my wife's birth pains started; she told the nurse, who replied that it would be days before the child was born. Several hours later, the pain increased and another pregnant woman in the same room came over to take a look. She saw the head of the baby and called for help. The nurse came back, poured cold water on my wife's body and told her to keep her mouth wide open for a little while. Then she went out for the doctor.

There happened to be only one doctor

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at that time in the whole No. 2 Government hospital, for it was then 10:00 p.m., not the office time of the doctors. The doctor was finally located but before he could put on his gloves, and make arrangements in the operating room, a seven-pound baby bounced out from my wife to the floor. Because of the abrupt birth, stitches were applied to my wife. These stitches were later not found, but the doctor said they came out of their own accord and this was a common medical phenomenon so we need not be surprised.

Although the hospital bill was not high, it was still more than three times my monthly salary as a government employee.

I would really like to hear Dr. Amos Wong's advice on what to do should I have a second baby, pending Dr. Wong's appeal for better and fair treatment to his compatriots in the medical profession!

C. C. W.

Nanking,
November 3, 1947.

A Diary

To The Editor:

The following paragraphs are some fragments taken from my diary in the flooded area where I voluntered to work for 50 days during the summer vacation.

* * *

Noon had just struck. All was in dead silence except a cicada singing on the top of a willow. Owing to the hot relentless sun which scorched the ground to a crisp. nearly every one in the city of Fukow was staying at home for a nap.

At the crossroads, in front of a grocery, sat a pale, thin soldier on guard, dressed in plain clothes with a locally made gun lying on his knees. He looked around with his dull eyes, like a man suffering from starvation.

Down the street came a white haired woman with a crutch in her right hand and in the left a basket, in which was a bowl and a few pieces of bread. She was wrapped in a ragged western fashioned shirt, which appeared to be relief clothing from CNRRA, and a pair of short trousers patched with different kinds of cloth scraps, under which stretched out a pair of half naked legs, thin and black and dry. She was entirely blind. Flies harassed ceaselessly her deeply furrowed face. She groped with her crutch along the street, crying all her way for some food in a wretched voice full of pain. She was making her way to the city where the CNRRA office was located, with the hope that she might get some food there. But she was wrong; no one would take care of her.

* * *

A high building stood in the city, before it stopped many motorcars. It was the CNRRA office which took care of all the organizations in the flooded Honan area, such as the Working Teams, the Tractor Teams, the Medical Teams, the Transportation Teams, the Refugees Accommodation Offices and the warehouses. In a place like Fukow, it was a grand building with nearly all modern furniture —window curtains, sofas, paintings, clocks etc., and sprayed often with DDT which drove all the flies out of the house. In the office, there were a number of servants waiting for attendance. The high officials working there wore foreign fashioned uniforms and leather boots. These people seemed to do nothing but eat, drink, gossip and gamble. When the evening drew near, the quiet Fukow air vibrated with their singing and shouting which awakened the refugees with empty stomachs from their sound sleep. An old Chinese poem says:

"The smell of the wine and meat
Are the wealthy houses filled with.
While before their gates
Are lying the starved."

It is a typical story of China today, especially in the flooded area.

* * *

Miaotochai, a village in Fukow, where I stayed for two weeks is the most populous place I have ever seen. It was flooded when the Yellow River changed its bed eight years ago, and at that time all the peasants within five miles, about 5,000, made their escape to Liusio Temple, built for Liusio, an emperor in the Han dynasty. Because of the limited space in the Temple, the refugees built huts in every nook and corner. The Yellow River later was removed to its original bed, but the crowded village, together with the temple remains and there it was I stayed. One could imagine how crowded, noisy and pig-like it was. I am ashamed to say that as soon as I arrived at the place, I felt like leaving. I could not bear the mixed stifling smell of the food, of the stable, the peasants sweat, etc., not to mention the flies and mosquitoes. The worst thing, however, was the lack of water closets. Some women just urinated in the corner of the temple rooms or in the stable yards in the evening, and by the doors sometimes in the daytime when no man was by sight.

* * *

It was a cool evening after heavy rain in the town of Liansze (10 miles south of Fukow). I was cooling off in the court, chatting and laughing with my co-workers, while the crickets were chirping and the frogs croaked in the pool. Overhead, stars were glimmering. Suddenly from the neighborhood came bitter cries from many men and women, so bitter and grievous as if their hearts were broken. The sound grew louder and more bitter, piercing everyone's heart; the crickets stopped chirping, the frogs changed their melody. All was in dead silence for the moment. Later,

Via CGRA

In the final analysis, there is no other solution to a man's problems, even in the year 1947, but the day's honest work, the day's honest decisions, the day's generous utterance, and the day's good deed.

—CLARE BOOTH LUCE.

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Via GLOBE

I learned an old man of 50 was dying of starvation.

* * *

We were investigating the refugees in the town of Liansze. There are a total of 1,500 inhabitants, most of whom returned recently from Sian where they made their escape in 1938 owing to the flood. Most people lived in straw sheds, which were so small and so dirty that I could hardly believe anyone could exist in them; some even took up lodging in huts without roofs. Nearly every room there, young and old, were thin and paie, contained two or three families. People there, young and old, were thin and pale, withered and dirty. The majority of them were sick and very weak. I was told that many ablebodied men had died in the war and because of hard toiling. The number dying was terribly great. Within four hours, I witnessed seven families weeping for the death of their babies and five families for the loss of their parents.

People of the flooded area are really the most suffering and poorest in China today.

HSU SHIH CHEN.

Kaifeng, Honan,
October 21, 1947.

Slogan Neglected

To The Editor:

"Education First" has been advocated for a long time in this country. Doubtless the aim of fundamental education is to better the living standard.

With this in view, I would like to introduce to the world through your foreign newspaper my college, Kiangsu Provincial College. I entered this college about two years ago, but to my disappointment I find as a college of education it does not lay stress on the training of secondary school teachers, nor on the traditional school education, though all the graduates of this college will devote their life to the educational field. I really don't understand why the education authorities propagate the slogan "Education First."

FEI LIANG.

Wusih, Kiangsu,
November 1, 1947.

Ideological Murder

To The Editor:

"Chinese Liberals in Hongkong" by Wang Sze-zee in your *Review's* Oct. 25 issue is a fair presentation, if one accepts *Hwa Shiang Pao* as a "liberal" daily paper. I have been reading *Hwa Shiang Pao* since its inauguration and resumption after the Japanese capture, without interruption, and I, like Mr. Wang, think it is a very good paper.

But when it is called a "liberal" paper, it automatically implies that a "liberal" means one who never questions the Kremlin; and who never agrees with the White House when the White House is not doing its duty as expected by the Kremlin.

I would challenge Mr. Wang or any defender of *Hwa Shiang Pao* to repudiate my thesis.

The tragedy with liberalism now is that it is a dead corpse in England and America. Liberalism is bankrupt with the bankruptcy of Earl Lloyd George, son of the great Liberal Leader.

So Comrade Stalin is at liberty to appoint liberals and democrats for all bourgeois countries. Those liberals pictured by Mr. Wang are no exception.

Those liberals who believe in Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and John Stuart Mill are now outcast by the ruling classes in England and America. They are persecuted in China, as China's ruling clique is being helped by the United States government.

The liberals of this category exiled in Hongkong are worse than those liberals approved by or approving of Moscow. I know many Ph.D.s and M.A.s from reputable American Universities who are having hard times here because they were indirectly persecuted by the Kremlin and the White House alike. The Chinese Gestapo are only Wall Street's butchers.

This is the reason why I say that Anglo-American free institutions are doomed. Henry Luce, Roy W. Howard and Company are aiding Truman, Vandenburg and Company to murder their own ideological friends abroad and their ideological foundations at home.

You can guess who will win the next war.

P. T. WONG.

Hongkong,
October 30, 1947.

Finger in the Pie

To The Editor:

It has been more than once officially stated that up to date no concrete proof has yet been found as to the positive aid and supplies the Soviet Union is hysterically imagined to have given the Chinese Reds. This negation, being crystallized by the democratic cloaked US State Department spokesmen, is from the praiseworthy reports of the Kuomintang's information agencies which, reputed to broadcast groundless rumors and to instigate farcical propaganda, have no say in this matter.

But one cannot help wondering why the U.S. has been trying every means to aid the not-yet-democratic-enough Kuomintang Government which is but one of the guilty fighting parties of the present large-scale Civil War in the eyes of the Chinese lao pai hsing. Could this be a friendly attitude to the Chinese people? Could this intervention be interpreted as not having a finger in the pie? Could this complicity in setting China's house on fire be the responsibility of the self styled guardian of democracy and world peace and security? Could this tyrannic behavior on the part of American diehards mean freedom and rights for the Chinese people as human beings? (We are quite aware that the good, friendly American citizens who are progressive liberals and cosmopolitans cannot resist the great counter current of reaction of their none too welcome rulers at home and are suffering from the same oppression and persecution as we are though somewhat less in degree.) Could this imperialistic and fascist action avoid the criticism of future generations because they are trying in vain to retard the progress of mankind for whom history is going to be written?

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" as Jesus rightly and wisely denounced hypocrites.

THE MAN IN THE STREET.

Shanghai,
November 4, 1947.

Coincidence?

To The Editor:

I wonder if you have realized the queer coincidence of Mr. John G. Winant's death this week and his statement on the domestic situation in the United States several days earlier.

Mr. Winant is said to have committed suicide as the result of "mental strain"—although why mental strain should have overtaken him at this moment after the war had already ended is not clear. Unless, that is, we think deeply of his statement reported by *Time*, on November 3, 1947.

"The profits (of corporations in the US) were enough to cause some viewing with alarm. At the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum, John G. Winant, ex-ambassador to Britain, warned that such

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'unprecedented profits in combination with the high cost of the necessities of life,' created dissension at home and conflicted with US foreign policy, thereby comprising a 'new danger to private enterprise here and peace abroad.'"

Time adds: "Many a profit-counter, busy with his books, was hardly bothered by such lofty considerations."

I have a slight suspicion that *Time* has watered down Winant's statement somewhat in its own interests—this has been known to happen with that magazine before. And I have more than a suspicion that Winant's suicide is the suicide of an honest man, unable to bear any longer the manipulations of US monopolies both at home and abroad, and unable to do anything about this state of affairs.

Winant has been reported "a casualty of World War II." I think it is better to call him a casualty of this postwar peace....

S. O. S.

Shanghai,
November 8, 1947.

No Way Out

To The Editor:

How many readers of the *Review* took a second glance at the *Reuter's* report from Moscow saying that four factory workers had written a letter to the editors of *Pravda* charging the British military attache in that city with trying to photograph their factory in broad daylight, disguised, incidentally, in a tattered sheepskin coat?

People with an alleged sense of humor will no doubt attribute this report to the "suspicion" of the Soviets, and interpret it as an attempt to "smear" the representative of an ally.

My sense of humor leads me to think otherwise. I consider it highly entertaining that the head of a foreign military mission in Moscow, being unable to enlist the services of native espionage talent, is forced to do the business himself and in such poor form. Things are altogether too bleak for foreign spies in Moscow if it is remembered that the military attache in question, as a perfect alibi, thought of nothing better to say than that he was investigating a suitable spot for a skiing excursion. This, in the middle of the autumn! For citizens of softer climes I venture the information that even in Moscow, land of the proverbial bear, snow never falls that early.

The entire episode reminds me of a verse I heard in my childhood which included a line about the walrus and the carpenter walking side by side....

DR. WATSON.

Shanghai,
November 5, 1947.

NOTICE

THE *China Weekly Review* will not publish anonymous letters in these columns. Every letter intended for publication must bear the writer's NAME and ADDRESS, for the information of the editors. In cases of group petitions, statements or announcements, the letter must be signed by a responsible official or delegate, likewise for the information of the *Review*. If it is specifically pointed out that the author wishes to have his letter published under an assumed name, or his initials, this will be complied with, and his identity will not be divulged. However, as said above, in all instances the *Review* must be aware of the identity of the writer if he expects to see his communication appearing in these columns.—*EDITOR.*

Zeros Missing

To The Editor:

In my article "Vicissitudes of War Ravaged Honan" in the Oct. 11 issue of the *Review*, the figure of Chow Chintung's fortune, CNC$100,000,000, should be changed to CNC$100,000,000,000.

DUNCAN C. LEE.

Kaifeng, Honan,
November 4, 1947.

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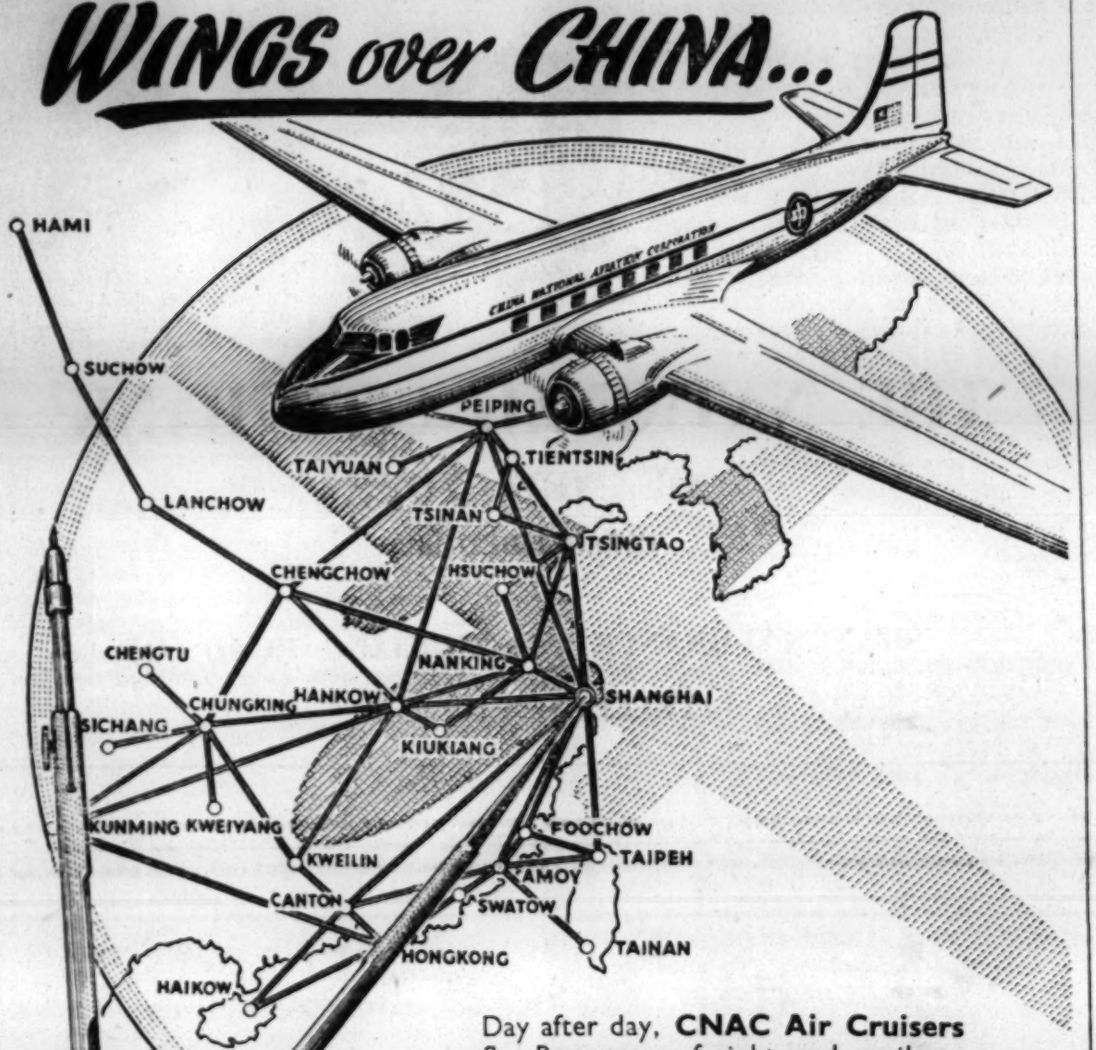

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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Vol. 107 Shanghai, Saturday, November 15, 1947 No. 11

New Source Of Revenue

A PRESS dispatch from Tsingtao recently reported that street patrol corps will inspect female pedestrians and fine each woman found with curled hair. The fine, set at CNC$-20,000, is described as a thrift measure and the proceeds will be used for troop welfare work.

The idea is almost too ridiculous to warrant comment, except for the fact that it is one of the best examples we have seen recently of the devious paths followed by the official mind. Theoretically, the measure is designed to impress upon the women of Tsingtao the seriousness of life in China these days and to forcibly remind them that they have better things to do with their time and money than spend them in beauty parlors. However, coming as it does at a time when the coffers of all public and quasi-public organizations are depleted and at a time when such outfits are frantically searching for some method of augmenting their funds, we almost suspect that the real purpose of the move is to levy a little more cash. In short, we think the reasoning in this case was in reverse. It was first decided that money was needed and it was then decided as to how it could be raised.

In Shanghai, it is reported, the municipality has changed its mind about that particularly disgusting "foreign vice" of horse racing. It now appears that the Race Course will again be the scene of activity. The reason is the need to raise money for the city's destitute this winter. We have no objection to horse racing, provided the betting arrangements are well supervised so that the worst evils of gambling, such as fixing races, etc., are avoided. From the practical aspect, though, we wonder just how much revenue will be forthcoming in time for winter relief.

* * *

WHILE these are all little things, they seem to indicate a certain lack of realistic thinking on the part of officialdom. If the authorities are thoroughly convinced that curled hair is improper, they should simply forbid it—they apparently have no scruples in forbidding other things they don't like. If the authorities are convinced that horse racing is a vice, they should stand firm by their original decision to prohibit it. They should not allow themselves to be led away from their decisions by the prospect of increased revenues. This puts them in a rather ridiculous position of being forced to rationalize their actions in a most ludicrous manner.

We may be unduly pessimistic, but it seems to us that the two aforementioned incidents, picked at random from numerous ones appearing in the papers almost every day, indicate in addition to a tendency toward unrealistic thinking, a trend toward hysterical grasping at the nearest straw. At least they indicate that there is a serious lack of sound thinking and *planning* in government circles. As we have pointed out in the past, the country's chaotic financial condition could be improved measurably by a sound and comprehensive system of taxation. The present method of unequal taxation and the failure to enforce collection upon people of any consequence is bound to fail. If taxation were just and reasonable, there would be no need for such periodic flights into the ridiculous in an effort to increase government revenues.

Supervision Of U.S. Aid

REPORTS from Washington indicate that the Marshall Plan for aid to Europe—at least, its emergency part—is entering the final stages. Aid will be furnished in the form of US dollars to Italy and France as soon as Congress decides just how much and when such assistance is to be granted. At the time of writing, a Congressional committee was preparing to hear Secretary of State George C. Marshall on his proposal for emergency aid to these two countries.

These events came close on the heels of President Truman's recommendation that US$5,700,000,000 in European aid in the first year of the plan be contributed by the United States. The committee recommended that upwards of US$3,000,000,000 in 1948 should be given in outright grants and that the total outlay for four years should run to about US$17,000,000,000.

So far there has been unanimity in all official government circles on the manner of granting this aid to Europe. Now, Senator Thomas Connally, Democrat from Texas, has suggested that a single director be appointed to report on US foreign aid. "The whole program is so intimately and vitally a part of the United States foreign policy that the State Department must be in contact with the same," Connally is reported to have said this week.

AP, commenting on the Senator's proposal to the congressional committee, says this observation could reflect an administration viewpoint clashing with the Republican demands for the creation of a separate agency, as recommended earlier by a special House Committee on foreign aid.

Whatever may be the difference in view as regards HOW aid to Europe is to be supervised, there seems to be no friction between Republicans and Democrats on the principle of supervision itself. This unanimity is laudable, but it should be thoroughly analyzed and considered before the emergency aid goes into action.

American lending in the two years after VE Day in Europe has assumed a clearly political aspect. Loans to countries where regimes inimical to American free enterprise conceptions have been established have been withdrawn or refused. Examples of this have been the intended and even proferred loans to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, all later canceled under one explanation or another. Whatever the explanation or the excuse, it is clear that no money or aid is being considered by the American Government to countries where the American system of government and economy have been forsaken.

Bearing this in mind it is not difficult to perceive what the results of supervised American aid to Italy and France will achieve. In both these countries a severe struggle is currently in progress between the left and the right, with the right being in the saddle at the moment. Supervised aid, it cannot be doubted, will only serve to strengthen the position of those now in power, and what is more, may bring into power other rightist groups at present on the verge of seizing power. How American prestige and promise of aid influences internal politics has been demonstrated by the recent French municipal elections, where de Gaulle's newly formed party gained considerably as the result of a well timed American promise of assistance in the form of a loan, and other maneuvers.

If American emergency aid to France and Italy will be "supervised" the internal political situation in these two countries cannot but become aggravated. And the United States will not be able to divest itself of responsibility for the ensuing crisis. This is the logical outcome of political lending.

Prominent American leaders have time and again stressed that an expansion of foreign trade is the requisite to peace. This concept may not be altogether correct, but it is undoubtedly more sensible than foreign lending based on politics. While the first may bring prosperity, the second will not even bring an expansion of foreign trade, for it will only create chaos in the countries receiving such political, supervised loans.

In advocating American loans purely on an economic basis—for the expansion of trade, and not of foreign policy—we are not contradicting our previous qualification of American aid to China with specific projects. We have gone on record as opposing non-supervised American loans to China for a very good reason: there is a Civil War raging in China and therefore conditions are not exactly propitious for utilizing American dollars for economic reconstruction. Our stand on "specific projects lending" has been approved by events — all the aid that the Chinese Government has received from the United States to date, has not benefitted this country's economy one iota.

The situation in Europe is different—at least at the moment. Although there have been reports that a Civil War is brewing in France, such a misfortune has not yet hit that country. Neither is there civil strife in Italy as yet. Both countries are engaged in severe — but bloodless — political strife, and aid to their economies from the United States should not be predicated on any kind of political "musts" inherent in supervision.

The fact that the Communist parties in Italy and France have been voted into prominence at legally conducted elections indicates that it would be fatal for any country, most of all the United States, to support their rivals who enjoy an equal if not smaller support from the voters. Political US loans to these countries are liable to embolden the rightist parties to employ means in the struggle for governmental positions hitherto refrained from. And as a final argument it could be added that political loans to countries in ferment are in themselves infringements on the sovereignty of these states.

Lethargy In Elections

WITH the date tentatively fixed by the Chinese Government for the holding of general elections only a week off, it is really distressing to find widespread lethargy and indifference among the electorate. As far as we have been able to learn, except for an insignificant number of ambitious professional politicians, office seekers and job hunters, the overwhelming majority of the people simply are not interested. Suspicion and downright apathy are visible everywhere. Even the Chinese press doesn't seem to take the matter quite seriously and few papers have so far carried editorials on the subject.

This public indifference and skepticism are all the more striking to foreign observers since in Western democracies such elections are necessarily preceded by a period of intensified political activity. Back in the States, electioneering is usually marked by spectacular parades, campaign songs and slogans, immense gatherings of enthusiastic throngs, a flood of speechmaking and printed appeals. We see none of this in China on the very eve of supposedly most significant general elections. What we see are callous indifference, sullen silence, and grave misgivings.

Cynics and pessimists are predicting that a second "election catastrophe" is sure to befall this country. The first election catastrophe occurred in 1936 when the election of delegates to the National Assembly led to nationwide complaint and confusion. It is interesting to recall that the term "election catastrophe" was coined by no less a personage than the venerable Wu Chih-hui, elder statesman of the Kuomintang, widely known for his satirical humor.

As the situation stands today, the holding of general elections in China is most likely to do more harm than good. It is a game that isn't worth the

PEOPLE'S CANDIDATES

Time & Culture

candle. For one thing, since the candidates are mostly yesmen hand-picked by the "interested quarters" and since the electorate is limited to "registered voters," it is beyond our comprehension how the elections can be free and fair. A highly influential group of Kuomintang councilors of the People's Political Council openly attacked alleged manipulation and stagemanaging in nominating candidates. According to them, the new National Assembly, if elected this way would be worse and less representative than the present one. Much as we are wont to look on the bright side of things, however, we are inclined to think that the holding of general elections under existing conditions is politically useless and financially expensive.

It is politically useless because the elections will have little hope of helping solve the many urgent problems now confronting China. Even the pro-Government conservative *Yi Shih Pao*, God-fearing organ of Chinese Catholics, editorially warned that it would be idle day dreaming to expect the elections to clarify the present political situation. Worse still, the nomination of candidates has stirred up much nasty trouble. It has sharpened the struggle within the Kuomintang and embittered the relations between the Kuomintang and the minority parties.

Recent reports from the capital stated that the deep rooted friction and contradiction between the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, which had been temporarily shelved as a result of the recent merger of these two organizations, have flared up once again over the nomination of candidates. It was reported that a group of junior army officers have organized a Revolutionary Youth Association to fight the old guards of the Kuomintang in the forthcoming elections.

However, this is not the whole story. There has been much bad blood between the Kuomintang on the one side and the Young China Party and the Democratic Socialists on the other over the nomination of candidates. The minority parties have been bitter and resentful over what they called the "bad faith" of the Kuomintang. It was revealed that when the Kuomintang persuaded the minority parties to join the reorganized government it guaranteed election of a certain number of members of the minority parties to the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan. Now the Kuomintang was alleged to have changed its mind on the ground that this guaranty was undemocratic. Besides, many candidates nominated by the two minority parties have been rejected by the Kuomintang on the plea that they hold dual membership and are therefore opportunists or even doublecrossers.

While we do not doubt that some kind of compromise will be finally worked out on the point at issue, the fact remains that the seeds of dissension have been sown in the relations between the Kuomintang and the minority parties.

We say the holding of general elections under existing circumstances is financially expensive because it is sure to cause the expenditure of quite a lot of hard pressed Chinese taxpayers' good money, which could be spent more profitably on some other more useful and more urgent projects. This waste of money will be all the more apparent if we take into consideration that the results of the elections will leave the present political situation in this country as it is now. What's worse is that the Chinese papers have already disclosed "irregularities" in handling election affairs. According to one story, under the very nose of the National Government, the Nanking Election Office has pocketed CNC$120,000,000 in printing ballots.

General elections are held in Western democracies to determine government policies, domestic and foreign. Elections are chiefly fought on political platforms. The candidates running for election as well as the parties to which they belong must clearly state their views on national policies so that the electorate may know where it stands and make up its mind on casting votes.

The Chinese voter is at a loss. He does not know the viewpoints of the candidates on the many pressing problems which are of great concern to him. In other words, he does not know what kind of people are running for election. The long list of unfamiliar names makes no sense to him. Such being the case, you hardly expect him to make good choice even if he is allowed to do so.

It is argued that in spite of all imperfections, the holding of general elections will mark a long stride toward building up a constitutional form of government in China, and that it will demonstrate the sincerity and determination of the Kuomintang to turn back political power to the people. In our opinion, the Kuomintang could do so in a more useful and less expensive way by giving the people more freedom of speech and listening more attentively to the complaints of the people. The final test of the pudding is in the eating. The people will benefit more by a clean and democratic government than by window dressing.

Smuggling And Bribery

FOR the past two weeks the local press has been carrying a series of articles dealing with the capture of numerous members of a "Bandit" supply organization engaged in running military and other supplies to Communist areas. The mere fact that such an organization has been in existence and that Nanking's sleuths have uncovered it is not surprising; such is to be expected during a civil war.

What is really of interest, though, is the first story about the breaking of the smuggling ring as published by the Local press. We recommend it as required reading for those officials in Nanking who continually claim that stories of corruption and inefficiency are exaggerated and that the foreign press is too inclined to look for flaws.

According to the *China Press*, a newspaper chieby owned by Dr. H. H. Kung and which, therefore, cannot be accused of being under Communist influence or of being a mouthpiece for foreigners who "do not understand China," the case only came to light after

several officials had been bribed in intrigues which lasted more than a month.

In the middle of September, one Huang Sze-fu and Tsai Kwei-chi boarded a vessel here with 80 cases of dyestuffs in which were hidden a large quantity of sulphur powder destined for the Communists in North Kiangsu. However, at Chungming, where the vessel berthed, a naval detachment from Warship No. 108 of the Chinese Navy discovered the sulphur and detained the shipment. Huang and Tsai immediately sought out a friend, Koo Sho-ya, who promised to intercede with the captain of the warship.

According to the story, Huang and Tsai were unable to reach an agreement with the captain as to the amount of bribe, so Koo, the negotiator, approached the captain of a second Chinese Navy warship with the request that he intercede with the first captain. At this point things began looking up for Huang and Tsai because a "Navy negotiator," not otherwise identified, supposedly fixed it up with the first captain. The price was CNC$70,000,000 and it was agreed upon at a meeting in a hotel room in Shanghai between Huang and Tsai, the smugglers; Koo, their negotiator; and the "Navy negotiator." The bribe was said to have been paid but when the day set for the release of the sulphur disguised as dyestuff arrived nothing happened.

Huang and Tsai then learned that their friend Koo and the Navy negotiator had squeezed the bribe instead of turning it over to the captain of Warship No. 108. Huang and Tsai, it is said, were particularly upset about this because the amount of money they originally had received—supposedly from their superiors who were the actual owners of the sulphur—was larger than CNC$70,000,000 and that they had privately agreed to split whatever was left after paying off the Navy with their friend and negotiator, Koo.

Koo, when located said that the Navy negotiator took CNC$40,000,000, another naval officer was given CNC$10,000,000, while another CNC$10,000,000 was eaten up by "miscellaneous expenses." Koo claimed that all he got out of the deal was the remaining CNC$10,000,000. Apparently pushed into a corner, Koo agreed to kick back CNC$6,000,000 to Huang and Tsai out of his share of the bribe.

At this point the Chinese Navy Headquarters reportedly stepped into the picture and took the detained sulphur away from the control of warship No. 108 and the fat was in the fire. Koo, the negotiator, became extremely worried, fearing that if the investigation reached down to him he might lose his personal property in fines and bribes to various and sundry officials involved. Huang agreed to help Koo hide some of his wealth.

Koo, the original negotiator and middleman, then found himself in the unenviable position of being squeezed from both sides. Finally, in desperation he went to the Fifth Investigation Company of the Woosung-Shanghai Garrison Headquarters, wailing that Huang had extorted CNC$5,000,000 and five cases of commodities from him. He further complained that an "unidentified man" squeezed four gold rings and CNC$1,000,000 from him. Additionally, he complained, he was beng forced to meet this "unidentified man" again at a certain address in order to give him an additional CNC$3,000,000. The Garrison kept Koo's appointment for him and arrested "a member of a certain bureau."

From there on the case was the Garrison's baby and after a month they unraveled the foregoing tale. At the present it looks as if the Garrison did a nice job since so far there seems to be no suspicion that the Garrison became involved in any of the squeeze.

* * *

WE THINK that this story might well give officialdom something to think about. If a group of men smuggling war supplies to the other side in the Civil War are able not only to keep out of the clutches of Nationalist law enforcement agencies for a month after being discovered, but actually during that time are able to conduct negotiations aimed at bribing at least two naval vessel captains, "a member of a certain bureau," and various other minor officials, it is high time for Nanking to seriously examine the governmental structure which it has set up and which it today claims is being unfairly criticized by those who call it inefficient and corrupt.

Propagandist Yu Pin

ARCHBISHOP Paul Yu Pin, who seems to spend about as much of his time in America making speeches and granting interviews as he does in Nanking running his archdiocese, is currently "visiting" the US again, giving the American people the inside dope on democracy and communism in China.

While of course it is every person's right to have and to express his personal political convictions, we cannot let the remarks attributed to Yu Pin recently by the *Boston Traveler* pass without comment, especially since he seems to have joined the ranks of those officials in Nanking who spend so much of their energy in attempts to discredit American newsmen here. This group's line seems to run to the effect that everything is okay in China except the American newspaperman, who, because he is a communist or communist sympathizer, insists on painting a picture of chaos, corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, etc.

In this interview, as well as many others, Yu Pin is on record as a violent anti-communist and a violent supporter of the Kuomintang, so there is no need to devote time and space to an analysis of his political leanings.

However, we think it is hardly fair for the Archbishop to use his church position and connections as a front for out and out political activity. In one breath he says that he is "above party" and therefore able to "tell the truth," while in the next he makes charges against the Chinese Communists of which there is as yet no published proof and makes claims for the Nationalist Government which are obviously fallacious.

Yu Pin, who is "above party" says he has seen evidence of "Soviet influence, Soviet supplies

and Soviet support," given the Chinese Communists. As recently as July a Soviet officer "was caught, disguised in a Chinese officer's uniform," and Soviet artillerymen and soldiers also have been discovered. The Soviet Union has given war supplies to Chinese Communists, some of them originally bearing a "Made in Great Britain" sign and now showing beneath that mark the seal of the Russians. The Archbishop says further that he is convinced US arms are also being sent to China through Russia but that he has not yet seen tangible evidence.

Further, the Archbishop claims to have documented his observances in Manchuria and to have taken pictures to back up his statements that "this is not a civil war, but an international war—because we are fighting communists who are international."

It is strange that Yu Pin, while in America, talks of "evidence" which he, for some reason or another, has not seen fit to *disclose*, either in China or America. This is the first we have heard of the capture of a "Soviet officer," or of the guns overstamped with a "British" trademark. As a propagandist he might be called upon to produce his proof, but as an archbishop he presumably can get by with merely asserting that "he has it," because as a man devoted to the cause of God he is theoretically above suspicion or reproach. His remark about documenting his Manchurian findings, conveniently thrown in after a series of extremely serious—and as yet unsubstantiated—charges might carry considerable weight with those readers and listeners in America who are not well acquainted with the situation. We would be willing to bet that Yu Pin's pictures are the same as those taken by newspapermen and other visitors to the Northeast. Pictures which show factories looted and dismantled by the Russians which will never be of any use either to the Nationalists or Communists, and pictures of buildings looted by the Manchurian people themselves, who, being on the spot, got there before either the Communists or Nationalists.

Touching upon the Nationalist side of the question, Yu Pin criticizes American publications and articles on the state of the Government of China as "not important — not apropos." The Central Government, he actually said, is "not ruled by one party—is not a dictatorial government." On the contrary, he said, it is "open to all liberal elements of China." We wonder how the Archbishop will explain the forced dissolution of the Democratic League, the split within the Democratic Socialist Party, the arrest of labor leaders and students, and the flight abroad of many liberal and progressive leaders?

He dismisses the ills of the Nanking regime with, "We hate to be so inefficient and to have corrupt officials, but to be realistic, the corruption arises from the poor pay which is not enough to keep a family alive." This statement is followed by a dissertation upon the value of the American dollar in terms of CNC and a claim that American dollars could "help in that situation by stabilizing Chinese currency." It would seem that in addition to his other shortcomings, the Archbishop is a bum economist.

We think Archbishop Paul Yu Pin should—during his stay in America—be required to register as the agent of a foreign government.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

No Mere Replica

November 11, 1922.

In the end, which will be hastened or retarded, but not determined by our course of conduct, China will doubtless develop a republicanism of her own—she will not merely borrow a constitution from America. And her friends and wellwishers must be content to see the progress move slowly, content provided only that it is in the right direction. Progress does not demand a number of mere replicas of the American Republic....The future will probably see one kind of republic in Anglo-Saxon lands, others in the lands of the Latins, Celts, Teutons and Turks, and still another kind in China. "But all," as Victor Murdock eloquently predicted, "will have the germ of Washington's and Hamilton's and Jefferson's and Lincoln's idea—which is....that the evolution of a republic is to democracy, the evolution of democracy to the rule of majorities, through spiritual and mental enlightenment, to the rule of the voice of God."

* * *

Next Chapter

Europe today understands the universal significance of the dawning Orient far better than do we (America)....In 1921, General Smuts wrote: "The scent has shifted away from Europe to the Far East and the Pacific. The problems of the Pacific are to my mind the world problems of the next 50 years or more....There Europe, Asia and America are meeting, and there, I believe, the next great epochs in history will be enacted. I ask myself, what will be the character of that history? Will it be along the old lines? Will it be the old spirit of national and imperial domination which has been the undoing of Europe? Or shall we have learned our lesson?"

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Liberals Thwarted

November 13, 1947.

Despite her veneer of modern civilization, Japan is essentially a feudalistic country dominated by militarists. True, liberal and enlightened elements, elements with a modern and international outlook, tried to get control of the government and the country, but the reactionary feudal warlords and their ambitions, policies and plans ever proved to be the stumbling block. Indeed one of the important reasons for the forcible seizure of the Three Eastern Provinces in 1931 was that the militarists in Japan saw that their power was slipping away from them and decided something must be done to change the course of events in Japan which was far from proceeding in their favor. In order to cover up the initial wrong, more wrongs had to be committed.

* * *

Separation Sought

Havas said that French newspapers were convinced of the existence of military clauses in the Italo-German-Japanese Anti-Communist Pact and fear that the accord will induce the signatories to interfere in the domestic policies of other nations. It was reported that a permanent Italo-German-Japanese committee, including representatives of the general staffs of the three powers would be set up, and that the first point on the agenda provides for the coordination of the three fleets in case of serious international events. Herr Hitler, said the report, told General Chiang Po-li, Chinese military expert, that China ought to adhere to the pact. The Reich is anxious to secure Chinese adherence to the pact in order to separate China from the USSR.

The Kuomintang In Taiwan

D. Y. Lanne

WHEN Japan surrendered, two of China's wealthiest provinces were returned to her: Manchuria and Formosa. It cannot be denied that their long absence had done no harm to these territories; in fact, they had been considerably improved upon. Japan had not had the good sense to make these improvements graciously; and the inhabitants were not amused by the mid-Victorian colonial airs the conquerors put on. Yet the benefits received were solid; the natives are just now discovering that aspect.

Manchuria is a sorry sight indeed. Its industry is in utter ruins. The writer, who has had an opportunity to make a thorough investigation of it, estimates that at this time not more than 30 percent of it is in operating conditions while only about 10 percent is actually running. The difference of 20 percent which might but does not function is due to the incompetence not of the technicians in charge, but of the Government which prevents them from doing their job.

The loss of 70 percent of Manchuria's industrial capacity in the writer's opinion is attributable to the following causes: removals by the Soviet Army: 15 percent; looting and destruction by the local population: 25 percent; Civil War: 30 percent. The contending Chinese armies are specializing in their respective jobs of destruction. While the Communists concentrate on railways and overland power lines for obvious military reasons, the Nationalist armies which hold the cities indulge their destructive instincts for the sheer fun of it. Apart from such practices as, for example, using the colliery's stocks at Fushun for constructing pill boxes from tool steel and neat cement and stabling horses in factories, they have clamped down an iron vice on the local industry by controlling and blocking everything and making life miserable for the technicians and workers. Idle factories turn to scrap very quickly, and the value of machines and buildings that rot away with every day that passes must considerably exceed the value of the help which UNRRA has given to this country.

The Real Reason

National Government officials in Manchuria have a standard explanation for the cause of all their troubles: it is the Soviet Army and their looting. But the explanation does not stand up well under questioning. A typical interview would run somewhat as follows:

Q.: I see from the blueprints that this steel works has six blast furnaces. Are they operating? A.: No, the Russians dismantled two. Q.: What about the other four? A.: The Communists dynamited one. Q.: Then why don't the other three run? A.: No coal for making coke. Q.: Why? A.: The army gives us no rolling stock for moving coal from the mine.

It takes considerable time to get down to the truth, and it is not always as easy as in the case report quoted. Therefore, when an opportunity presented itself to visit Formosa, I was glad to take it as affording a check on the Government's ability in organizing industry unhampered by that very useful interference from the Soviets and the Eighth Route Army.

Population Blamed

It is not hard to meet potential recruits for a "bandit" army in Formosa. The larger part of the population seem to be candidates. On a train trip to the South, I came across a rather naive specimen who happened to speak Mandarin very well. He overheard me talking to my traveling companion, a high official of the Provincial Government, and used a pause in our conversation to interpolate a remark on the present miserable condition of the island. I happened to be in my sunniest mood and even the Kuomintang at the moment had lost some of its sinister complexion. I therefore replied that, after all, if the Taiwanese had not exactly asked for it, at least they had been willing and glad to return to China. The island had been hitched for 50 years to the economy of a country whose people lived on a superior economic level. As surely as water flows from high places to low, money flowed from Japan to Taiwan, without any intention on the part of the Japanese to benefit the natives. Now that Taiwan had joined China, the laws of gravitation worked against Taiwan and wealth is running out of the island; for it had attached itself to a country whose inhabitants were poorer. If China had the best government on earth, it still could hardly be expected to suspend the laws of nature in Taiwan's favor; water would still run downhill.

My new found native friend after some reflection admitted the justness of these observations. But, said he ruefully, the Taiwanese had made a mistake. They were still slaves, only they had swapped bad masters for worse ones. If they had to be a colony, they would rather be an American, or for second choice, a Japanese one. I answered that I did not see the need for being anybody's colony; why did they not aim at independence? At this point, my companion nudged me, while the native grew interested. He wanted to know how it was to be done. I explained that, although Taiwan's return to China had been agreed upon between the Allies at Cairo (admittedly without asking the opinion of any Taiwanese), technically she did not belong to China till the peace treaties had been signed.... Here my companion could contain himself no longer. He said sharply to me: Stop it, you cannot say that! When I recovered from my astonishment and enquired why I could not mention a fact as obvious as the sky being blue, he explained to me in English that the public discussion of such questions was taboo and dangerous in Taiwan; that secret police agents and informers were everywhere; and that, if we have been overheard, we might be taken off the train at the next station and never be seen again. By the time he had finished my native had evaporated without leaving a trace. Later, I heard my companion's opinion confirmed in many quarters. The secret police are all powerful. They take people off the street or wherever else it pleases them, and many of their victims apparently have disappeared for good. There is no process of law or justice for political dissenters. They are hunted like beasts and the police are prosecutor, jury, judge and hangman. As in Hitler's Germany, restaurants carry signs requesting customers not to discuss politics. The island's voice is hushed; and for a Chinese who has been accustomed to think of his country as a weak and oppressed one, it is a strange but not a beautiful experience to realize that here in this island he is hated more deeply and more fiercely than ever an Englishman was in India, as a leech, an extortioner, a brutal, stupid, bloodthirsty oppressor.

Deliberate Policy

This deplorable state of affairs has been brought about as a result of the deliberate policy of the mainland Government. No Communist has had a hand in stirring up such feelings; in fact, no "bandits" at all were required because a single bandit without quotation marks within one year achieved results an army of Red organizers could have been proud of.

The first Governor of the island to be appointed by the Kuomintang was Chen Yi, a member of, and a disgrace to, the "liberal" Political Science Group and a rotter if ever there was one. He had piled up an unsavoury record as governor of Fukien. His chief qualification for his new job of administrator of this territory recently acquired from the Japanese was his long standing connection with certain influential Japanese army circles which had lasted right through the war. This specialist on things Japanese in all his years of ruling Fukien had never learned to speak the native languages. Like his colleague Chiang Ting-wen, the "Pacification" Commissioner, he came from the neighboring province of Chekiang, which furnishes the shopkeepers, pickpockets, generals, and political masterminds of China; and the pair of them drowned rebellious Fukien in a sea of blood at the behest of Nanking—not without making a tidy pile of money for themselves and their henchmen.

Few people in Taiwan read English and down there they do not know that the *China Weekly Review* lit the fire which in the end burnt Chen Yi's pants. No journal has ever performed a more outstanding service for the Chinese Government than the *Review* did in exposing Chen and obtaining his dismissal. But that service was only potential, and the Government did not take any real advantage of it. Instead of replacing a butcher by a competent civil servant, it put a hyena in the place formerly occupied by a tiger.

The murderous suppression of the spring rebellion has left an indelible impression on the minds of the Taiwanese. They know now how the Kuomintang Government runs its business. It helped them to realize that the process of being tied hand and foot could be carried on in the economic field, as well as in the political one.

Under Chen Yi, the Chinese Government took over 70 percent of Taiwanese industry because it had been enemy property. The first step after assuming control of the industry was to loot it. Factories have only two kinds of assets which are easily realized—cash in hand and a stock of finished products. The new Government took both. There is no factory now in Taiwan taken over by the mainland Chinese which has a cent of money left: their bank accounts are gone and their refined sugar or their coal has been sold on the mainland at an enormous profit. While last January, coal cost the equivalent of US$4 per ton in Taiwan, the same coal was sold in Shanghai at US$90. Private import and export trade was prohibited. All trade with the mainland and foreign countries was vested in a Chen Yi organization called the Taiwan Trading Bureau, which skimmed the cream off private transactions channeled through it. Similarly, the National Fuel Control Commission which controlled the coal trade held out hopes to privately owned Taiwan mines of sharing profits to be made on the enormous price differential between coal and other native products sold in Taiwan and Shanghai; arrangements were then made by the commission to sell the coal in Shanghai at a price only slightly higher than in Taiwan to certain companies which resold it at a gigantic profit on the black market, thus cheating the producers in Taiwan of their share.

The tiger's heyday is over, but the new administration carries on the same tradition in a less conspicuous manner. Coal is now being sold in Shanghai at a reasonable profit—a modest six or eight hundred percent instead of 2,000. You get the general hang of the new policy—the island is being garrotted slowly instead of being stretched quickly on the gallows. Half the coal produced still goes to the mainland. The coal which the islander gets still costs him twice the official price, and he cannot get enough of it; there is only about 20 pounds to be had per month per capita, and this includes industrial and railway consumption. As a result, people are beginning to cut down the forests for whose conservation the island so far has been justly famous. If the present idiotic deforestation policy is continued, the island will be a desert like the neighboring province of Fukien in 10 or 20 years' time. From its denuded hills, the rain water will rush down in torrents, washing the fertile top soil off the plains and reducing the farmers to perpetual beggary.

Only One Plan

Carpetbagging in its crudest form seems to be the only economic plan the Government has been able to work out for the island. Not a cent of money is being invested there, but plenty is going out. Industries partially destroyed by the war are told to help themselves as best they can, and not to expect any aid through loans or supplies from the mainland. Coal production is falling off for lack of new machinery which cannot be bought abroad because no import licenses are being issued. The once flourishing caustic soda industry which has been heavily damaged by American bombing had to reorganize itself by cannibalizing hopelessly destroyed plants and using the salvaged material to repair less severely damaged ones. The factory technicians have made an excellent job of it, inspite of the government that pays them—certainly not because of any help they got from it; but production still is miserably low.

American bombing apparently has reduced the electric power capacity from over 300,000 KW output to 210,000. Of this, only 90,000 can be utilized at present. There is a tremendous amount of unemployment in Formosa. Estimates run as high as 400,000 people—very nearly all the factory workers the island has. The once great sugar industry is in ruins. Gunny bags, another important native product, are not being manufactured any more. Rice is exported in large quantities to the mainland, and considerable amounts are consumed by an estimated 10 divisions of troops which the Government has quartered on the unfortunate island, plagued as it is already by a swarm of civilian locusts. The latter, if they are government officials, receive a rice ration at half the market price, and sugar at two-thirds the price. This privilege of the officials, though meekly borne by the house broken mainland people, does not at all appeal to the Taiwanese whose money is being watered in their very pockets by the inflation, whose own income shrinks daily, and who can foresee the day when they will be unable to send their children to school. It is just around the corner for the middle class, and has already arrived for working men and farmers. School houses built under the Japanese administration are being turned into yamens and police stations; and the office holders' new Buicks and Studebakers glittering in the streets bring home more poignantly to the Taiwanese the contrast between victim and bloodsucking mandarin. The incredibly stupid and tactless statement issued by Governor Wei Tao-ming on the eve of the second anniversary has rubbed in the lesson of the "liberation" of Taiwan which the natives are now learning.

Taiwan is learning that she has only two courses open for her salvation. First, she may attempt to secede from China and become independent, or semi-independent under a United Nations mandate. Steps are being taken by certain native groups to achieve this, but they are not likely to lead anywhere. At Lake Success, nothing succeeds like success, and the plight of a small and little known minority trampled underfoot by the Kuomintang Government of China will weigh as a feather at a moment when the United States have nothing more on their minds than how to goad and coax their own people into giving allout financial and moral support to that same Government which everybody knows to be corrupt and incompetent; if Taiwan is bled white, that will save the American taxpayer a few hundred million dollars. The politics of the United Nations, too, is power politics; and justice, fairness, charity or pity enter into it only when expedient. Taiwan's case, though appealing to all these virtues, and then some, is most inexpedient at this moment.

Taiwan has the other choice of accepting her cross and staying with China; and of the two, I believe this is the nobler and the manlier one. After all, if every wealthy province seceded from the motherland because it is poorer, it would be logical for the richer half of every country to quit the more impecunious remainder; that process could be carried on almost ad infinitum; and who would be the better off for it? The Taiwan people do not deny that they are Chinese. No doubt they are on the average better educated than the mainland Chinese; they are cleaner, they have a social discipline of a much higher order, they are less tolerant of incompetent government, they live (or used to live) on a higher economic level and have learned to carry correspondingly greater responsibilities.

As Chinese, they can confer on their mother country, and in the last analysis on themselves, no greater benefit than to strive with all their strength to raise the rest of China to their own high standard. At first, this will entail heavy sacrifice; but the fight is by no means hopeless. There are many allies on the mainland who will be glad to receive reinforcements and from whose experience Taiwan in turn can profit. It is not the Taiwanese alone who know that something is wrong with China; all China knows it. But on the mainland, there are people who know a good deal more than that—who know just what is wrong and how to set it right. Let Taiwan become aware of the struggle for which as yet she has cared little and learned less; let her pick the right kind of comrades-in-arms, and there will be a better chance that the fight for the four freedoms can be carried on till victory is won for all, mainland Chinese and Taiwanese alike.

Communist Economic Offensive: Equalization of Land

WANG SZE-ZEE

Hongkong.

THE concentration of land in the hands of the few in China, is considered a cancer in the nation's economy and as such is one of the most serious drawbacks to her progress. According to pre-war estimates, Chinese landlords, only four percent of the total population, owned about 50 percent of the land; rich farmers, totaling six percent of the population, shared 26 percent while the remaining 90 percent of China's population possessed only 24 percent of the land. Although there have been no accurate post-war landholding estimates made, it is believed that the landlords and rich farmers own even more land today than before the war.

It was Dr. Sun Yat-sen who first discovered the fundamental illness from which the nation suffers, and his prescription was very simple: "Land to the tiller." For many years, the Kuomintang has used this phrase as one of its most prominent slogans. But, unfortunately, the KMT has, seemingly, been too busy to put into action its eminent leader's sensible plan for land reform.

Admitted Failure

However, the Communists proceeded to implement the plan, although they later admitted that their initial efforts had proved to be a total failure. They dispensed with the method of confiscation of landlord's properties at the outbreak of the war and changed to a milder technique of controlling rents and interest rates. It was reported that this revised method worked out very satisfactorily in Communist-controlled areas.

Now the Communist Party's land reform policy has been changed again. Recently, the *New China News Agency* published the "Basic Program on Chinese Agrarian Law," promulgated by the Central Committee, CCP, on October 10, and the CP "Resolution on Publication of the Program."

The "Basic Program on the Chinese Agrarian Law" contains several important articles, which I quote below in brief:

Article 1: The agrarian system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation is abolished and the agrarian system of "Land to the tiller" is to be realized.

Article 2: Land ownership rights of all landlords are abolished.

Article 3: Land ownership of all ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, schools, institutions and organizations are abolished.

Article 4: All debts incurred prior to the reform of the agrarian system are cancelled.

Article 6: Except as provided in Article 9, Section b, (referring to forests, mines, lakes, etc.—Editor) all land in villages owned by landlords, and all public land shall be taken over by the village peasants' unions, and together with all other village land, in accordance with the total population of the village irrespective of sex or age, shall be unified and equally distributed; with regard to quantity, surplus land shall be taken to relieve dearths, and with regard to quality, fertile land shall be taken to supplement infertile, so that all village inhabitants shall equally share the land, and it shall be the individual property of each person.

Equivalent Land

Article 10; Section d: Landlords and their families shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of the peasants.

Article 10, Section e: All families of KMT military officers and soldiers government officials and personnel, party members and other enemy personnel, whose homes are in rural areas, shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of the peasants.

Article 11: The Government shall issue to the people deeds of ownership of the land, and moreover, recognize their rights to free management, trading, and under specially determined conditions, to renting their land. All land deeds and all notes on debts contracted prior to the reform of the agrarian system shall be turned in and shall be declared null and void.

Article 12: The property and legal operation of industrial and commercial elements shall be protected from encroachment.

Failure Predicated

Here in Hongkong, Chinese landlords and rich merchants, while saying nothing openly about this land reform plan, privately predict that the CP is doomed to failure on this point. They do not believe this plan is practicable. KMT-sponsored press organs have ignored the issue and remain silent. The British, however, consider the plan important. The semi-official *Far Eastern Economic Review* published the full text of the Program and the Resolution in its latest issue.

Chinese democrats and liberals here have almost unanimously agreed with the plan and have praised the CP for its initiative. At an informal meeting held to study the plan, Liu Ya-tze, a revolutionary KMT veteran, said he regretted the KMT's failure to implement the policy and applauded the implementation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's program by the CP. Feng Yu-fang, another democratic leader, endorsed the plan unconditionally. He said his only wish was that the plan be realized quickly and thoroughly. Tung Tzu-ming, a liberal professor, added that the KMT was incapable of competing with the CP in this field, because the KMT leaders were themselves all landlords. They would hardly carry out a program of benefitting the people if it opposed their own interests.

Bourgeois Revolution

Impartial observers here consider the CP's new land policy economically a plan of bourgeois revolution in nature, because it permits the existence of land ownership, even to landlords; politically, it is an effective weapon through which the CP should be able to win the support of 90 percent of the population. Then the acceleration of the advent of the final triumph of revolution will become possible.

As a matter of fact, the improvement of the farmers' livelihood will be realized earlier than under the previous mild methods of the CP or the administration of the backward KMT. Many observers believe that if the KMT fails to produce a practicable counter program for the CP's land reform plan it will have little chance of escaping its eventual doom in the Civil War.

Generally speaking, common Chinese here are somewhat indifferent, as usual, especially as the majority are merchants who own only two or three acres of land, if any at all. They have nothing to lose nor anything to gain by the CP's new land program. However, there exists a question in everybody's mind: "The KMT has a new headache now. Does it have a better plan? What course will it now adopt?"

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The Problem Of Indian States

SA (社)

THE controversy on the subject of Junagadh's accession to Pakistan has drawn public attention to the question of the position of the States in a divided India, but it is doubtful whether all the issues involved have been sufficiently appreciated. There is a tendency in some quarters to dismiss the Junagadh question as a minor matter; others consider that it can be disposed of by saying that on the termination of Paramountcy the States regained their independence. This is an over-simplification of a difficult and complicated question, but to understand it properly it is necessary to trace it some way back in history.

At the time when the British established their supremacy in India, the States did not all fall into one uniform pattern. Mostly they recognised the suzerainty, however nominal, of the Mughal Emperor. Others were feudatories of bigger States, and in some cases the States were newly created and recognised by the British. But it would be true to say that the typical Indian State at this time was in form and substance treated as an independent sovereign power; and this position was recognised even when the British imposed on them troops for the ostensible purpose of their protection and introduced at their Courts Residents who authoritatively interfered in every aspect of their administration. After the assumption of direct administration by the Crown, the formal status of the Rulers changed. They were henceforth treated as feudal subordinates of the Paramount Power who recognised no limits to the exercise of its overriding authority over the States. In part this change was due to the change in the position of the British in India. Originally they were a commercial company, intent only upon profit, and they could not shake off the effect of this tradition even when they became conquering power. While they still had to consolidate their power in India, they were naturally more concerned with the security and safety of their territories than with the welfare of the people. But the position changed when they became the established rulers of the country when they could no longer remain oblivious of larger considerations. Concurrently with this, there also took place an economic revolution in India. Previously each part of the country had been more or less self-sufficient and its economy was organised in a manner appropriate to such conditions. When, however, modern communications bound up the whole country into one economic system, the natural consequence was that the conditions in each part of the country reacted upon the others. The British administration in its later phases, therefore, came to be organised upon an all-India basis, and even while it continued to respect in form the de jure status of the States, in practice it was able to enforce the necessary administrative uniformity through the exercise of its paramount authority. The States, for their part, recognised that they were part of an interconnected larger entity and took their full part along with "British India" in all measures devised for the safety and welfare of the country. It was thus possible for Lord Curzon in 1899, at Gwalior, to claim the Princes as fellow workers in the execution of an Imperial function.

> "The native chief", he said, "has become by our policy an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner."

As for the legal status of the Princes, the exposition of the position in Lord Reading's letter to the Nizam of Hyderabad showed how insubstantial in the context of Paramountcy was the content of their cherished claims to independent sovereignty. The following extract from the letter speaks for itself.

Crown Sovereignty

> "The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India....But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Rulers enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where Imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility."

The ultimate interests of the country required that, irrespective of the technicalities of law, the administrative unity that had been built up through the years of British rule should continue in the new circumstances. On the eve of the withdrawal of British power the doctrine was, however, enunciated that with the lapse of Paramountcy the Indian States would regain their sovereign independence. This meant in effect that they would revert to the formal position of a typical State at the advent of British power. But no practical difficulties might have ensued if India had been kept as an entity, for it might then have been possible to draw all the States into its orbit. But the decision to divide India made the question dangerously complicated. The Congress and nationalist opinion accepted partition with great misgivings and only because, first, it seemed the only way to obtain the freedom of the country without delay, and secondly, because it was intended to be for final settlement of the communal question. Even then, they made it a condition that since the Muslims demanded a separate State, it should consist of only the predominantly Muslim parts of the country; and the division of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam followed in consequence. It is obvious that the independence of the States and their freedom to accede to any Dominion must be understood in the light of the principles upon which the partition was agreed to. Law is a good servant, but a bad master, and it is poor statesmanship to deal with these issues upon narrow legal grounds regardless of all the practical considerations which bear upon them.

Even before the transfer of power took place, the Viceroy did make a pronouncement which revealed the intentions of the British Government in the matter of the accession of the States. "When I say that they (the States) are at liberty to link up with either of the Dominions," the Viceroy said, "may I point out that there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. Out of something like 565 States, the vast majority are irretrievably linked geographically with the Dominion of India....You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbor any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible."

If the States had been free to act upon the logical consequences of their independence, the country would have been hopelessly fragmented and all the beneficial consequences of the unified system built up by the British would have been lost. It was to avert this danger that the States Department was set up and negotiations were entered into with the States for accession on three essential subjects and a continuance of existing administrative

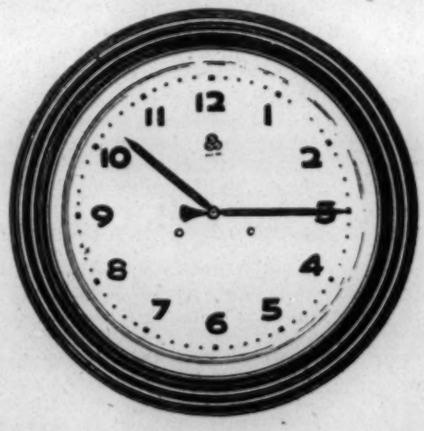
arrangements. If both the Dominions had acted in a spirit of practical statesmanship, it would have been possible to build up two integrated Dominions including the States which naturally fell into their respective spheres, and no difficulties would have arisen. The Dominion of India, for its part, has scrupulously observed the underlying principles. The State of Bahawalpur in the Punjab, for instance, is contiguous to both the Dominions. But its economic prosperity is bound up, with the canal system which originates in East Punjab, and it would have been possible to influence the State's decision as to the Dominion to which it should accede by using this factor as a bargaining counter. But Bahawalpur being a Muslim majority State, the Government of India raised no objection to its accession to Pakistan.

In the case of Junagadh, however, Pakistan has chosen to rely entirely upon the narrow legal position. The fact is that Junagadh is not contiguous to Pakistan; it is in the midst of States which have acceded to the Dominion of India and their territories are inextricably intermixed. Over 80% of the population of Junagadh are non-Muslim and all evidence shows that they desire accession to India. The economic connections of the State are with India and so are its lines of communications except perhaps by sea. A State which accedes to one of the other of the Dominions becomes part of the territory of that Dominion. If India had been able to secure the accession of Kashmir Chitral, Bahawalpur and Khairpur, Pakistan would undoubtedly have felt that the whole principle of the division had been disregarded. That principle was that Muslims should govern in Muslim areas and that the rest of the country should belong to the Dominion of India. It may be recalled that Mr. Jinnah was at first indifferent to the question of the accession of States, but when India had achieved some success in the matter, Pakistan started to follow the example of the Dominion of India, and in fact so it is said used the same form of the Instrument of Accession as had been prepared by India. Pakistan is now attempting to rope in some of the smaller Kathiawar States which had not so far acceded to India. In the wake of the communal bitterness created by mass migrations, this step by the Government of Pakistan is naturally regarded by the average Hindu as an incursion into India. In the light of history which has witnessed successive invasions of India from the north-west, this would mean that not only would the communal question remain an open sore, poisoning the relations between the Dominions, but the field of communal conflict would be extended. The psychological effects of such a situation may be full of peril.

The position which the Government of India have taken up is that where the Ruler of a State is a Hindu and the people are also predominantly Hindu, its natural field of accession is with India, and in the opposite set of circumstances with Pakistan. In all other cases the question should be decided according to the will of the people. This is an eminently reasonable position and it may still be hoped that the question of Junagadh will be solved on these lines.

By contrast with Junagadh, the Hyderabad question is less difficult: the Nizam has not yet done anything irrevocable and negotiations are still continuing. Hyderabad is similar to Junagadh in one respect, namely, that its people are predominantly Hindu while the Ruler and the administration are Muslim. But while Hyderabad has a much greater area and population than Junagadh, it has no access to the outside world except through the territories of India—a great handicap for an aspirant to independence. Much of the land in Hyderabad is poor and barren, and by all accounts the economic condition of the people is very low. It is clear that in the long run Hyderabad is not in a position to pursue a policy counter to that of the Dominion of India. At present, however, the administration of the State is dominated by Muslims who also control the police and military forces of the State; there are also rumors of Hyderabad having been designed as the rallying point for Muslims in the south. An independent status for Hyderabad would imply liberty for the State to pursue a purely communal policy in the face of public opinion in the State itself, and would confirm the suspicions raised by its position and history. The existence of a large State of this description in the heart of India would be a disturbing factor in the neighboring Provinces. Public opinion in India will be reassured only if Hyderabad unambiguously enters the sphere of the Dominion of India by acceding to the three essential subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Since it is inevitable that sooner or later this should be done, it is the part of wisdom for the State to agree to it betimes and with grace instead of being forced to it by circumstances.

There is one consideration which applies in the case of both Junagadh and Hyderabad which needs to be mentioned. Both the States have autocratic Rulers who differ in community from the vast majority of their subjects. In the absence of constitutional government, it is these Rulers alone who are in a position to exercise the independence which the withdrawal of Paramountcy has restored to the States; and in both cases they are intent upon using it in a manner opposed to the wishes and interests of the people. Such a system can perhaps be defended on purely legal grounds, but there can be no doubt that it is entirely repugnant to the ethical and political sentiments of the modern world.



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Economic Background For The Marshall Plan---III

Y. F. Soo

(This is the last of three articles designed to show the economic factors behind the Marshall Plan.—Y. F. Soo.)

FOLLOWING Churchill's misnomer about the struggle between East and West, and the so-called iron curtain which is supposedly the great divide between freedom and totalitarianism, reactionaries in every country have picked up the catchword and have spread it far and wide. They have fanned the idea so assiduously that the common man is befuddled and asks himself: What is this struggle between East and West? Where does East begin and West end?

The answer will be simple if the fog around the oft-quoted statements of prominent reactionaries all over the world is cleared away. For example, it could well be asked: China and Japan being East of Great Britain, should they fall in with the East or the West? Mikolaijcik, the leader of the Polish reactionaries, having fled to Britain, will now fall under the West or the East category? Zoltan Pfeiffer of Hungary, likewise having fled his country, is he to be transferred from the East to the West? Many more similar questions could be posed, all of them leading to the realization that this East-West struggle business has been designed to camouflage the actual struggle in progress between reaction and progress, between land reform and large landholdings, between nationalization of industries and "private enterprise."

In every capitalist country without exception the same struggle is in progress: some want to retain the prewar system of vested interests, others would like to arrange the social system in such a manner as to benefit the common man, the majority of the people.

The war has aroused the consciousness of the man in the street and he now rightly clamors for a greater say in the political affairs of his country, and incidentally, for a greater slice of the "economic pie." His wishes can no longer be ignored; professional politicians plugging the vested interests line will have to make way for people's representatives and politicians of a new type; landowners will have to move over from their hundreds and thousands of acres to make room for the land starved peasant; industrialists and bankers who united before the war to reap unearned profits at the expense of the people, will have to surrender control—and profits—to popular management, so that the surplus of their enterprises can be utilized for the benefit of society as a whole. This, in fact, is the struggle that is now in progress, and its success or failure in every country is determined by the level of political consciousness and maturity displayed by the popular parties.

* * *

THE foregoing pattern of struggle must be borne in mind in order to see through reactionary distortions; official statements which lump Europe into one heap which is badly in need of American aid; the hunger and poverty supposedly in existence because some countries have refused to join in the Marshall Plan; the attempts of the Communists to "undermine economic rehabilitation" to gain their ends; the "abolition of freedom" in the Eastern European countries; and the various kinds of slander currently being heaped on the parties and peoples who indeed are intent on nothing but actually helping themselves.

Here are a few examples of how distortions are spread: Acting Secretary of State Robert Lovett, commenting on the formation of the Cominform, said that "the parties and governments associated with this program have made clear their intention to prevent, if they can, the economic recovery of Europe." Lovett, as other reactionaries, counts on the ignorance of his public. He does not say that it is precisely in the countries which have become involved in the Marshall Plan—the so-called West—that economic crisis is deepest, and that in the so-called East, there is no crisis and economic problems are solved without US dollars. Lovett does not explain that economic crises have hit only those countries whose governments have thought fit to depend on foreign "aid," and that these are the so-called Western countries. Lovett does not say that the greatest economic achievements have been recorded in the Eastern European nations which have implemented the land reform and a nationalization of industries. And, it should be added, no one ever expected such men as Lovett to show great affinity for the truth.

Secretary of State, General Marshall, when he first told of his plan to aid Europe, said that "the patient is sinking." Again, as did Lovett, he ignored the fact that only those patients were sinking who had overly relied on foreign medicine. Those who use their own medicine are hale and hearty. It is significant that neither the originator of the Marshall Plan, nor any of his immediate supporters at home and abroad, have once mentioned the economic situation in Eastern Europe. Much has been said about the treason trials in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Albania. Nothing has been said on the economic progress there, the results of the land reform, the nationalization of industry and other measures which have enabled the governments of these countries to institute two and three-year plans for economic recovery. And this is understandable, for the facts in question refute the superficial charges leveled at these countries. It is ridiculous to say that the Polish Government, for example, is thriving on chaos, when that country has made more progress in recovery than has Great Britain.

* * *

IN Britain, which Churchill undoubtedly classifies under the West, the struggle between progress and reaction goes on as elsewhere. Nothing could better illustrate the situation than Herbert Morrison's attack on Churchill whom he called "reactionary." Morrison said Churchill's speeches are far more fitting for the latter part of the 19th century. This is precisely the situation, and while Mr. Morrison is himself no progressive, there are forces in Britain, headed by Konni Zilliacus, which are in opposition to the conservatives (the reactionaries) and comprise the so-called East wing of the East-West struggle. In the United States itself, this struggle goes on directed against the monopolies and finance capital which aim not only at the subjugation of foreign peoples, but primarily at enslaving completely the American people. Everyone knows that people like Senator Pepper and Henry Wallace are at the head of the opposition, and comprise the East wing of the East-West struggle, to use Churchill's description.

Thus it is clear that the division of the world is not vertical (East-West), but rather a horizontal one (progress vs. reaction). The struggle is aimed at the elimination of vested interests, monopolies, huge landholdings, etc., depending on the country in question.

The efforts of American monopolies to establish a dollar area in Europe which might absorb American surplus goods and provide a field for activity of investment bankers is presented under "containment of Communism." Mark Sullivan, of the *New York Herald Tribune*, had the following to say on US foreign policy:

"To prevent the world from falling under Communist and Russian

domination, to save as much as possible of it for democracy and free enterprise is the purpose of our whole foreign policy."

General Lucius D. Clay, US military governor in Germany, announcing the allout attack on Communism in the American zone of occupation, added: "We are going to defend the principles we believe in and attack those we do not believe in. We certainly do not believe in Communism, in any way, shape or form."

Walter Lippman, an acknowledged authority on American foreign policy, returning from Europe on November 4, said that "the advance of Communism into Western Europe was stopped when the United States sent the battleship Missouri to the Eastern Mediterranean...."

These "top planners" either intentionally or through ignorance confuse Communism with nationalization and land reform, the impulses behind the political developments in Europe at the moment. What their statements signify is that the leaders of the United States have thrown their lot in with the reactionaries of every country in the world in an attempt to stem the tide of history.

"Free enterprise"—a myth—is being revived to fight nationalization and land reform, but it has already been outdated by history itself. There is no "free enterprise" in any country in Europe, including England, while the kind of "free enterprise" operating in the United States is revealed through a study of concentration of capital and production potential in the hands of a small group (see *Review*, November 1). What is actually being defended under this "free enterprise" slogan, is the freedom for monopolies to take control of new markets and garner the profits. And the best way to achieve this is to raise the bogey of Communism, a trick unsuccessfully tried by Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, and their satellites.

"Most of the European peoples subjugated by the armies of Hitler dreamed that liberation would break the chains that bound them and open an era of political and economic independence.... Can it be that influential American circles conceived the liberation as a simple restoration, as an investment which ought to pay dividends? The nature of the revolution that the people hoped for was to be a democratic, anti-capitalist revolution that would destroy once and for all the age old privileges of the industrial and financial oligarchy gathered at Vichy."

These are the words of Louis Saillant, president of the French National Council of Resistance, and his analysis is valid for every European country. The question is whether the evolution which has always been in progress will be blocked by vested interests or whether the aspirations of the people of Europe will be realized. This is the true nature of the struggle that is cloaked under the East-West conflict by the reactionaries. They want to create an impression that it is not the people of *their* countries who demand reform and progress, but that this is an incursion of foreign forces, preferably from the East, where Russia is situated.

How successful this American policy of annihilating "Communism" will be —the people's struggle for a democracy which is not restricted by wealth —has been illustrated by Michael Straight, publisher of the *New Republic:*

"...in a world desperate for food and shelter, anti-Communism as a faith is less than nothing. What if General Eisenhower should issue marching orders to General Gavin: 'the 82nd Airborne Division will proceed at once to surround, attack and destroy the theory of evolution?' It would be just as realistic as President Truman's directive to surround, attack and destroy Communism with dollars and armaments."

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PASSING to the question of "aid to Europe" and the charge that certain forces thrive only on chaos, it would be pertinent to remember General Marshall's warning that aid in Europe should be given only to those who help themselves, and that the initiative for recovery must come from Europe herself.

Bearing this in mind, let us see just who in Europe is helping themselves, and who is thriving on chaos. For this purpose let us divide the European continent along a line sometimes called the iron curtain to denote to the West countries where the people are still fighting for a new deal: Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany's western zones, Greece; and to the East those countries where the new deal is already in operation with the reactionary remnants fleeing for their lives; Poland, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary. Let us see just how economic reconstruction is in progress in these two spheres.

France—*Reuter's* reported on November 6, that French money inflation was growing, following the Government's increases of steel and coal prices by 60 percent.

November 3, *United Press*: French Gold Reserve Secretly Shipped To US.

October 22, *Associated Press*: Crisis ridden France was said today to have sold US$1,500,000,000 worth of her gold reserves in the last three years in an effort to pay for food, fuel, and raw material imports.

Mr. Ramadier: "The Marshall Plan is a vital thing for Europe, but especially for France. The crux of the matter is that we face catastrophic ruin of our fortunes unless such aid were forthcoming . . . We must have American dollars, we must have them in such abundance that we can live again."

These are but a few of the more recent reports from France; the extent of the strikes there is well known, the cut in bread rations has been reported and the general decline of the people's standard of living in the last year is no secret.

Italy — November 5, *Reuter's:* Italian Workers Face Dismissal in Winter. Impending large scale dismissals of redundant labor in industry, coupled with the strained relations between the General Confederation of Labor and the General Confederation of Industry over the issue, is being watched with grave concern."

October 29, *Reuter's:* Threat of General Walkout in Italy.

October 5, *Reuter's:* Italy Leftists Join Forces Against Government.

And finally the most revealing of all, an article in the *New York Herald Tribune* entitled: "Bonds with US Check Communism in Italy."

Britain — November 3, *Reuter's*: Labor MPs Oppose New Government Order (guidance of unemployed workers into essential industries).

November 2, *AP*: The basis of Britain's economy is coal and her embarrassing financial position in the world today is linked closely with her failure to boost coal production.

November 1, *Reuter's:* Drain On British Gold And Dollars Continues.

LPS: Britain's Financial Crisis Obscuring Peace Achievements.

Economist: British Monopolies Pose Problem.

AP: Sterling Area Imports From US To Be Slashed.

August 24, *LPS*: Non-discrimination (of US Loan) Is Means of Starving UK People, *Economist* Says.

And finally, a number of reports of this nature: British Government faced with Fascism Growth; Fascist Meeting Ends in Uproar . . .

The situation in the other countries of Western Europe is just as well known, although not as widely publicized: all of these countries for some reason have found themselves in the middle of a severe economic crises; in spite of piecemeal American aid, they are short of everything, from dollars to foodstuffs; strikes are the order to the day, while in Greece, where the American and British reactionaries say "democracy" is being defended against "totalitarianism," naked civil strife rages unabated.

The cause for these crises is that the people are not solidly behind the governments in these countries. Pietro Nenni, Italian Socialist leader said the other day that "an effective struggle against inflation or internal problems is not possible without or against the extreme left, without or against the workers, without or against the Communist Party." His words are supported by such facts as the large scale investment of Italian industrialists in real estate for their personal profit. These financial wizards "have refused to make even the smallest personal sacrifice to help in the moral and material reestablishment of Italian industry in the present grave situation," says Giuseppe di Vittorio, secretary general of the Italian Confederation of Labor. He adds: "this can only bring about a situation which will increase the unrest among the masses of workers already alarmed at the increasing unemployment."

The same is true for France and Britain. In the latter "citadel of democracy" the Trade Union Congress last week heard an appeal to give up all wage claims for the duration of the crisis. At the same time, no demands are made upon the propertied and financial oligarchy to give up all claims to profits or compensation for

nationalized industries. One of the greatest failures of Britain's "socialism" has been, in fact, the idea to compensate the industrial barons for their loss of profits. This is not socialism, for it entails no redistribution of income, something which the Laborites in Britain formally advocate.

Under these circumstances, when all the sacrifices have to be made by the working and salaried classes it is no wonder that an imperceptible revolution has been Labor's achievement: the laboring class has lost faith in the Labor Government.

In France, Ramadier's Socialists have forgotten all about Socialism and are clamoring for US dollars. In Italy, the picture is similar. In fact, in every one of the 16 nations involved in the Marshall Plan, the governments have forsaken the only guaranty for economic recovery: popular support. They prefer US dollars, and this is the cause of their failure to date and the reason for the ever deepening crisis. And the only way to get out of the crisis is to lay the burdens of economic recovery on the propertied classes, the institution of a property levy, nationalization of industries without compensation, land reform and a general elimination of unearned profits.

Nothing good will ever come of a policy designed to lower the standard of living of those sections of the population which are already living from hand to mouth.

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A STRUGGLE similar to the one prevailing in Western Europe has been in progress in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania—only with more success. When we analyze the achievements of democracy in these countries, will it be clear why they have been able to avoid economic crisis after VE Day. Here is a short resume of democratic measures implemented by the popular government in the aforementioned countries:

Poland—Prior to the war, 61 percent of the population was rural, but 50 percent of the land was owned by 10 percent of the population: landlords. About 2,000,000 peasant families owned only 15 percent of arable land. The land reform eliminated large landholdings. On January 3, 1946, heavy and middle size industries were nationalized. This included 4,494 enterprises, employing more than 800,000 persons.

Foreign capital was dominant in pre-war Poland: foreign investments were as follows: insurance—92 percent; oil—89 percent; leather tanning —87 percent; power and gas —98 percent; wood pulp—82 percent, chemical—76 percent, electrical equipment—74 percent. As a result of the nationalization without compensation the power of foreign capital, together with the 208 cartels and monopolies active before the war, has been eliminated. The membership of labor unions grew on a parallel: 1939—940,000; 1945—1,332,000; 1946—2,000,000.

Czechoslovakia—On October 22, *Reuter's* reported from Prague that the Government approved a progressive capital levy ranging from two to 20 percent on all property worth more than 1,000,000 crowns (£5,000) if the owner has an additional income of 50,000 crown annually.

On October 24, 1945, more than 2,000 concerns were nationalized: all of the mining industry; 99.4 percent of the power and metallurgical industries; 71 percent—chemical; 60.8 percent—metal manufacturing; this involved 55.3 percent of all workers in industry.

Parallel to the nationalization of industry, a democratic land reform was implemented which deprived Czechoslovak reaction of its economic basis. These measures have enabled the Government to stabilize the currency and launch a two-year plan of reconstruction which is at present progressing in good form.

Owen Lattimore, writing in the *New Republic*, declared that this in no manner implies the "dictatorship" of the Communists, because all parties in the popular front support this economic program. He added that if any party were to come out against this two year plan, it would lose popularity.

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SPACE does not permit the further elucidation of the popular measures adopted in the Eastern European countries which are all designed to benefit the majority of the people, to curb the operation of monopolies and to allow full recovery of the country ravaged by war. Measures similar to those outlined in Poland and Czechoslovakia have been adopted as the law of the land, which means there is no turning back the clock of history for these new democracies.

The foundation has been laid in these countries for a peaceful transition toward socialism: there need be no violent overthrow of government power, inasmuch as all the popular parties are already represented in the governments. This has only been made possible through the institution of such measures which did not deprive the workers and peasants of their meager means by making them shoulder the expenses on the road to socialism as is the case in Britain, for example. The rich have been soaked, in the full sense of the word, in Eastern Europe, and this is the guaranty that the workers will be behind the plans for they realize that these plans are designed to raise the people's standard of living and create real prosperity.

Although the reactionaries insist on asserting that recovery is possible only when countries will "help themselves," recovery is actually possible only where this principle is really applied. To date, the governments which participated in the Paris conference on the Marshall Plan, have not yet settled down to helping themselves, but cry out plaintively for US dollars, as witness "Socialist" Ramadier above. Too much dependence on foreign aid is a sure sign of lack of faith in the power of the people to right the wrongs of war and to organize recovery.

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SINCE VE Day, Europe and the world have witnessed a general drift towards the left, and the left means working with the people. Opponents of the leftists parties think they can create "stable conditions" without or against the people and those leftist parties which represent them, but in this they are mistaken. There can be no rehabilitation and no reconstruction without or against the people as the experience of France, Britain, Holland, Italy and several other countries has shown. When the largest parties are excluded from the governments with foreign aid and because of outside pressure—in this case US dollars—the only fate awaiting such governments is ignominous downfall. They may hold on for a while, and let the people suffer a little longer. But the end will arrive, nevertheless, because the people have a natural perspicacity with regard to differentiation of friend and foe.

Dollar Shortage?

The countries involved in the Marshall Plan are anxious to get US dollars. Meanwhile, short term balances recorded in American banks at the time the 16 nations got together in Paris were as follows:

	US$
United Kingdom ..	490,000,000
France	200,000,000
Belgium	156,000,000
Denmark	50,000,000
Greece	33,000,000
Italy	170,000,000
Luxembourg	20,000,000
Netherlands	215,000,000
Norway	80,000,000
Sweden	127,000,000
Switzerland	405,000,000

The breakdown between government and private figures is a secret. But these balances indicate that the countries in question are not "helping themselves" by utilizing the assets of their rich, who are permitted to retain US dollar balances abroad while their governments beg for loans and credits.

EAT AT

Jimmy's

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Branch 11-3 Rue Montauban

Death Of A Hangchow Student

Fred Ling

THE death of Yu Tse-san, Chairman of the Student Self-Governing Body of the National Chekiang University in Hangchow, appears to be a mystery to many people. The Hangchow municipal authorities have issued a number of statements through the Government-owned *Central News Agency*, repeatedly claiming that the student leader committed suicide while in jail in fear of criminal charges. But students all over the country have issued statements to the contrary, charging that Yu was actually murdered by the pacification corps. The Chekiang University professors also doubted the veracity of the *Central News* dispatches and held protest strikes against the "infringement of human rights" by the Government. It is worth while, however, to recount the matter in detail for public judgment.

Yu Tse-san, popular leader of the Chekiang student body, was a major in Agriculture and was said to have long cherished the ambition of modernizing farming techniques in this country. He was an honor student in his field.

On October 25, he went with his classmate, Li Po-cheng, to attend the wedding of a Mr. Wang, a school alumnus. Two other alumni, Huang Shih-ming and Chen Chien-sin, from Shanghai were also present at the ceremony. The rites finished late that day and "it was very difficult for Yu and Li to return to their dormitory two miles away from the city, because of the lack of transportation." The quartet then rented a room in the Tatung Hotel at the Lakeside to stay over the cold night.

The next day, they disappeared.

Student Elections

Students of the school campus waited for them with growing anxiety because Yu had told them before he left for the city that he would return immediately after the ceremony to continue the preparatory work for another general election of student representatives, customarily held every fall. It was generally believed that Yu would be re-elected the Chairman of the Student Council.

A number of students were sent out to look for Yu, and after several hours' effort, they discovered that the quartet had been taken away by the Hangchow Peace Preservation Police Headquarters.

In the evening, the undergraduates called an emergency meeting to discuss means of rescuing the detained. A Rescue Committee was formed to direct the work, in cooperation with President Chu Ko-cheng and Dean Koo Kao-I of the University.

The president and dean, together with two student representatives, went to see the municipal and other related authorities, insistently inquiring for the arrested. It was admitted eventually that the quartet were jailed by the police. It was added that the authorities could not release them or send them to the court before the former finished filing the alleged criminal evidences against the latter.

"No need to worry," a government official told the inquirers, "the prisoners eat better here than they do in school."

The inquirers demanded the handover of the victims to the court within 24 hours in accordance with Article 8 in the promulgated Constitution, but were bluntly refused.

A second student meeting was called during which the majority of attendants vehemently argued in favor of a three day strike should the police fail to observe the Constitution, which provides that "when a person is arrested or detained on suspicion of having committed a crime, the organ effecting the arrest and detention shall, within 24 hours at the latest, hand him over to a competent court for trial." (Article 8).

Three Day Deadline

The student representatives, however, persuaded the crowd to be more patient and to give the police a three day deadline, starting October 26, to hand the victims over to the district court. A number of students disagreed on the grounds that their leader might be killed as a result of the delay in action on the part of the student body. They favored an early strike and public demonstration. This demand, however, was not adopted and a resolution to stage a three day strike on October 30 if the quartet were not set free before the deadline, was passed.

Hundreds of thousands of posters and handbills were distributed on the school campus, strongly protesting the "illegal act" of the police forces and calling on the schoolmates to "unite" against any highhanded measures taken by the armed authorities. A police cordon was thrown around the university "to fight riots."

As the zero hour approached, the school authorities suddenly received a notice from the Provincial Government, saying that the arrested had been sent to the court, but, one of them, Yu, had died in jail.

"He committed suicide," it was hurriedly added.

Principal Faints

Stunned by the news, President Chu and Dean Koo accompanished by a number of student representatives rushed out of the campus straight to the jail. There they found the body of the student leader, lying in bed with eyes and mouth widely open. Blood smeared his forehead and ran down to his neck. There was a hole in his throat. The principal fainted at the horrible sight.

"He killed himself with these broken pieces of glass," a police

Local Students Strike

STRIKES of student protest in connection with the death of National Chekiang University student Yu Tse-san in Hangchow were staged by a number of local universities and middle schools. According to the *China Press*, about 1,500 students of the Christian St. John's University stayed away from classes to protest the death of Yu. The other colleges involved in the strike were the National Tungchi University, the Chung Hwa Industrial and Commercial College, the National Yu Tsi Model Academy, and a dozen middle schools. Reports from Peiping indicated that strikes were also held in the former northern capital, but the extent of the students' action was not clearly given in the press dispatches. Here, in Shanghai, there were indications that the strikes were of a more militant nature than the press was inclined to admit. For some unspecified reason press reports of the entire occurrence were noticeably played down.

The accompanying two photographs are of Yu Tse-san, dead student leader of National Chekiang University, Hangchow, who is alleged to have committed suicide while under detention.

officer said showing the visitors two glass fragments spotted with blood. "He was questioned a few hours before 6 p.m. (today) and declined to write his confession. He kept on weeping when he returned to his cell. It was not until 6.20 p.m. that we discovered he was unable to breathe."

"Where did the broken glass come from?" President Chu queried after he was restored to consciousness.

"One from his bed, the other under the bed," was the answer.

Under close examination, however, the broken glass pieces did not coincide with each other. The principal asked again whether they were from the window sill, to which the Headquarters replied they did not know.

At that juncture, the officers handed the president a prepared identification letter testifying that the deceased actually committed suicide, and asked him to sign it. The president refused. He took out another piece of paper and wrote:

"Chu Ko-cheng has come here for examination and has found that Yu is dead."

The visitors left in mute sorrow.

Y.W.C.A. Warned

News of tragedy fast spread over the city. In the evening, the world delegates of the YWCA who were holding their Executive Committee Conference at the Lakeside received a phone call from the Municipal Government urging them to quit the city "at once," or the regional authorities would not guarantee their security in case anything happened. It was feared that the news would leak out to the world through the women delegates. No papers in Hangchow were allowed to carry the story, except from handouts by the provincial and municipal authorities and the dispatches furnished by the *Central News Agency*. Newspapers in Shanghai have been "requested" by the Shanghai Municipal Press Bureau not to print any story concerning the Hangchow affair as well as the student reactions here.

A furious public demonstration was held by the Chekiang students in protest against the alleged murder. A four-by-six feet picture of the "martyr" was carried high by the procession tramping along the Hangchow streets. The picture was inscribed with:

"Long Live Our Hero."

The angry demonstrators roared for the severe punishment of "murderer Chu Ming-tao," immediate and unconditional release of the remaining trio, and the protection of human rights; Police and gendarmes kept patrolling along the main thoroughfares with bayonets and handgrenades. No clashes took place.

At night, a doctor was sent by the court to examine the corpse. The report was found to be: a slight cut in the finger, several black lines on the stomach, some purple-black slashes in the leg, one scar on the waist and another on the back. The doctor did not know how the scars were effected since the skin covering them was not injured. When cutting open the skin, the doctor found a 5-by-5-millimeter wound filled with blood. The students suspected that Yu had been tortured in an electric chair.

Upon order by the Nanking authorities, President Chu left for the Capital where he claimed at a press conference that he was doubtful over the alleged suicide of the student chairman. He based his doubts on two points: first, where did the glass fragments come from, since even Yu's spectacles were taken away during his detention? And second, why did the authorities let Yu commit suicide?

A well known doctor here, when contacted by the writer, sarcastically stated that Yu must have been a brave man to cut his throat with broken glass pieces. Generally speaking, this is one of the hardest ways to commit suicide, he added.

More Violence

Students in Peiping reacted prompted and carried out memorial services for the new martyr on November 7, during which the congregation was stoned and beaten up. Six of them were arrested by the mobilized police and gendarmes. Undergraduates of the National Chiaotung University in Shanghai, and the National Central University and Nanking (King Ling) College followed suit by staging a lightning one-day strike as a sign of protest. All these culminated in the announcement of a manifesto by the Shanghai Student Federation calling on the students all over the country to unite and clear the "blood debt" with their own strength. The manifesto further appealed to the world for "righteous support."

On November 8, 163 professors of the National Peking and Tsinghua Universities in Peiping jointly issued a statement demanding the respect of human rights.

Post-UNRRA Aid Pact

FULL TEXT

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONCERNING UNITED STATES RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

Whereas, it is the desire of the United States of America to provide relief assistance to the Chinese people to prevent suffering and to permit them to continue effectively their efforts toward recovery; and

Whereas, the Chinese Government has requested the United States Government for relief assistance and has presented information which convinces the Government of the United States that the Chinese Government urgently needs assistance in obtaining the basic essentials of life for the people of China; and

Whereas, the United States Congress has by Public Law, 84, 80th Congress, May 31, 1947, authorized the provision of relief assistance to the people of those countries which, in the determination of the President, need such assistance and have given satisfactory assurance covering the relief program as required by the Act of Congress; and

Whereas, the Chinese Government and the United States Government desire to define certain conditions and understandings concerning the handling and distribution of the United States relief supplies and to establish the general lines of their cooperation in meeting the relief needs of the Chinese people;

The Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Furnishing Of Supplies

(a) The program of assistance to be furnished shall consist of such types and quantities of supplies and procurement, storage, transportation and shipping services related thereto, as may be determined from time to time by the United States Government after consultation with the Chinese Government. Such supplies shall be confined to certain basic essentials of life, namely, food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed material for clothing, fertilizers, pesticides, fuel, and seeds.

(b) Subject to the provisions of Article III, the United States Government will make no request, and will have no claim, for payment for United States relief supplies and services furnished under this Agreement.

(c) The United States Government agencies will provide for the procurement, storage, transportation and shipment to China of United States relief supplies, except to the extent that the United States Government may authorize other means for the performance of these services in accordance with the procedures stipulated by the United States Government. All United States relief supplies shall be procured in the United States except when specific approval for procurement outside the United States is given by the United States Government.

(d) The Chinese Government will from time to time submit in advance to the United States Government its proposed programs for relief import requirements. These programs shall be subject to screening and approval by the United States Government and procurement will be authorized only for items contained in the approved programs.

(e) Transfers of United States relief supplies shall be made under arrangements to be determined by the United States Government in consultation with the Chinese Government. The United States Government, whenever it deems it desirable,

may retain possession of any United States relief supplies, or may recover possession of such supplies transferred, up to the city or local community where such supplies are made available to the ultimate consumers.

ARTICLE II

Distribution Of Supplies In China

(a) All United States relief supplies shall be distributed in accordance with the terms of this Agreement by the Chinese Government and by established voluntary agencies in China which are agreed upon between the two Governments. Representatives of the United States of America shall have direct supervision and control of supplies made available by the United States Government under this Agreement.

(b) All United States relief supply imports shall be free of fiscal charges including customs duties up to the point where they are sold for local currency as provided by Article III of this Agreement unless when because of price practices, it is advisable to include customs charges or government taxes in prices fixed, in which case the amount thus collected on United States relief supply imports will accrue to the special account referred to in Article III. All United States relief supply imports given freely to indigents, institutions, and others, and those turned over to voluntary agencies for distribution shall be free of fiscal charges including customs duties.

(c) The Chinese Government will designate a high ranking official who shall have the responsibility of liaison between the Chinese Government and the United States representatives responsible for the relief program.

(d) United States relief supplies and similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources shall be distributed by the Chinese Government and voluntary agencies without discrimination as to race, creed or political belief, and the Chinese Government shall not permit the diversion of any such supplies to non-essential uses or for export or removal from the country while need therefor for relief purposes continues. The Chinese Government shall not permit the diversion of United States relief supplies or an excessive amount of supplies similar to United States relief supplies which are produced locally or imported from outside sources in the maintenance of armed forces.

(e) The Chinese Government will take appropriate steps regarding the distribution of United States relief supplies and similar supplies produced locally and imported from outside sources designed to assure a fair and equitable share of the supplies to all classes of the people.

(f) A distribution and price-control system shall be inaugurated in such major urban centers of China as circumstances permit, with the intent of insuring that all classes of the population, irrespective of their purchasing power, shall receive a fair share of the imported or indigenously produced relief supplies. In permitting United States relief supplies made available under this agreement to be utilized in support of Chinese efforts to improve consumption and price controls, it is understood that the United States Government undertakes no responsibility for the success of these urban programs.

ARTICLE III

Utilization of Funds Accruing from Sales

(a) The prices at which United States relief supplies will be sold in China shall be agreed upon between the Chinese Government and the United States Government.

(b) When United States relief supplies are sold for local currency, the amount of such local currency shall be deposited by the Chinese Government in a special account in the name of the Chinese Government.

(c) Until June 30, 1948, such funds shall be disposed of only with the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States Government for relief and work relief within China, including local currency expenses of the United States of America incident to the furnishing of relief. Any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, shall be disposed of within China for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to Act of Joint Resolution of Congress, may determine.

(d) The Chinese Government will, upon request, advance funds against proceeds from the sale of United States relief supplies to the United States representatives, to meet local currency expenses incident to the furnishing of relief, including the operation of the United States Relief Mission in China and certain urgent relief projects being undertaken by Chinese Government organs and voluntary agencies.

(e) While it is not intended that the funds accruing from sales of the United States relief supplies normally shall be used to defray the local expenses of the Chinese Government in handling, transporting internally, and distributing the United States relief supplies, including local currency cost of discharging cargo and other port charges, the United States representatives will consider with the Chinese Government the use of the funds to cover the unusual costs which would place an undue burden on the Chinese Government.

(f) The Chinese Government will each month make available to the United States representatives reports

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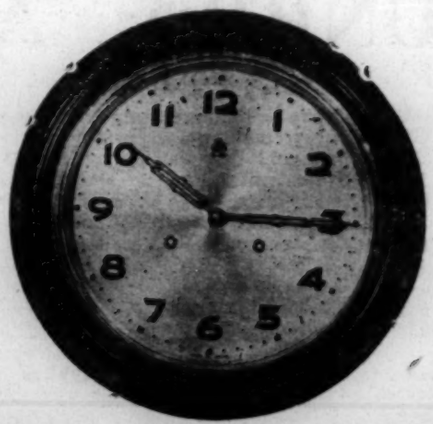

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on collections, balances, and expenditures from the fund.

(g) The Chinese Government will assign officials to confer and plan with the United States representatives regarding the disposition of funds accruing from sales to assure a prompt and proper use of such funds.

ARTICLE IV
Reduction Of Relief Needs

(a) The Chinese Government will exert all possible efforts to secure the maximum production and collection of locally produced supplies needed for relief purposes.

(b) The Chinese Government will undertake not to permit any measures to be taken involving delivery, sale or granting of any articles of the character covered in this Agreement which would reduce the locally produced supply of such articles and thereby increase the burden of relief.

(c) The Chinese Government will furnish regularly current information to the United States representatives regarding plans and progress in achieving this objective.

(d) The Chinese Government affirms that it has taken and is taking in so far as possible the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction.

ARTICLE V
United States Representatives

a) The United States Government will send to China the representatives required to discharge responsibilities of the United States Government under this Agreement and the Public Law 84, 80th Congress, May 31, 1947. The Chinese Government will permit and facilitate the movement of the United States representatives to, in or from China.

(b) The Chinese Government will permit and facilitate in every way the freedom of the United States representatives to supervise the distribution of United States relief supplies and to travel, inspect, and report in connection with any matters relating to this Agreement and will cooperate fully with them in carrying out all of the provisions of this Agreement. The Chinese Government will furnish the necessary automobile transportation to permit the United States representatives to travel freely throughout China without delay.

(c) The United States representatives and the property of the mission and of its personnel shall enjoy in China the same privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by the personnel of the United States Embassy in China and the property of the Embassy and of its personnel.

ARTICLE VI
Freedom To Observe And Report

The Chinese Government will permit representatives of the United States Press and Radio to observe freely and report fully and without censorship regarding the distribution and utilization of relief supplies and the use of funds accruing from sale of United States relief supplies.

ARTICLE VII
Reports, Statistics, Information

(a) The Chinese Government will maintain adequate statistical and other records on relief and will consult with the United States representatives, upon their request, with regard to the maintenance of such records.

(b) The Chinese Government will furnish promptly upon request of the United States representatives available information concerning the production use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief need of the people.

(c) In case United States representatives report apparent abuses or violations of this Agreement, the Chinese Government will investigate and report and promptly take such remedial action as is necessary to correct such abuses or violations as are found to exist.

ARTICLE VIII
Publicity Regarding Assistance

(a) The Chinese Government will permit and arrange full and continuous publicity regarding the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief program in China, including the utilization of funds accruing from sales of United States relief supplies for the benefit of the people.

(b) All United States relief supplies and any articles processed from such supplies, or containers of such supplies or articles, shall, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labelled in a conspicuous place in such a manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labelled, all practicable steps will be taken by the Chinese Government to inform the ultimate consumer thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States for relief assistance.

ARTICLE IX
Termination Of Assistance

The United States Government will terminate any or all of its relief assistance at any time whenever it determines.

(1) by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by Public Law 84, 80th Congress, May 31, 1947, is no longer necessary;

(2) any provisions of this Agreement are not being carried out;

(3) United States relief supplies, or an excessive amount of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in China, or

(4) United States relief supplies or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from China. The United States Government may stop or alter its program of assistance whenever in its determination other circumstances warrant such action.

The Chinese Government reserves the right to terminate this Agreement whenever it deems such relief assistance as is provided in this Agreement is no longer necessary.

ARTICLE X
Date Of Agreement

This Agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

Done in duplicate in the English and Chinese languages at Nanking, this twenty-seventh day of October, 1947, corresponding to the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the thirty-sixth year of the Republic of China.

SHANGHAI MARKET

MONEY MARKET

Money market became easy in the latter part of last week when the black market interest rate dropped from 20 to 16 percent. Government banks paid out CNC$-2,756,300,000,000 while foreign banks called in CNC$1,102,400,000,000 during the week ending November 8.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

On November 4 the open market foreign exchange rates were increased to CNC$-59,500 to US$1 and CNC$187,000 to one pound sterling. On November 7 the open market rate for pound sterling was lowered slightly to CNC$182,000.

STOCKS & SHARES

The stock market was slightly active at the end of the week when the money market was easy. Wing On Textile rose by CNC$16 compared with the previous week. On the whole, the market was quiet.

	CNC$	CNC$
Wing On Textile.....	286	308
Mayar Silk	440	455
Ewo Cotton 190,000		215,000
Bond C 21,100		22,000

RICE & CEREALS

The rice and cereal markets remained quiet with prices tending to rise. Little business was done during the week.

	CNC$	CNCN$
Rice	660,000	680,000
Wheat flour	212,000	222,000
Peanut oil 1,800,000		1,720,000

COMMODITIES

Commodity prices, which dropped considerably during the previous week started to move up once again during the last two days of the week under review. Although little business was done, prices increased slightly as shown below:

Raw silk 64,000,000		67,000,000
Rayon 80,500,000		86,000,000
20's Yarn 22,800,000		24,100,000
RQ cigarettes ..	202,500	213,000
KB soap	840,000	865,000
MD matches	6,000,000	5,850,000
Newsprint	750,000	840,000

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Marine:—
Diesel and Steam Engines, Turbines, and Deck Equipment.

Automotive:—
Gasoline and Diesel Powered Vehicles.

Fuels:—
Diesel and Fuel Oils, Gasoline, Kerosene.

Process Products:—
Cosmetic and Insecticide Base Oils, Petroleum Alcohols, Naphtha Solvents, Wetting and Drying Agents, Microcrystalline and Paraffine Waxes and Enamels.

The Review's English Lesson—V

AMERICAN JOURNALISTIC STYLE

ONE of the great developments during the past 100 years in almost all countries is the growth of popular journalism, the writing and production of newspapers and magazines, and now, of radio and motion picture reporting. While truth in reporting and speed in publication are the two main essentials, the style of writing is almost of equal importance because the style of one writer must compete with that of another for the reader's eye and interest.

American journalistic style is so distinctive and so much a part of the newspapers of every country because of the world wide American news agencies and the large circulation of popular American magazines and motion pictures, that it is interesting to sample at close range a piece of this dramatic writing on a semi-scientific or serious topic. Let us consider the first three paragraphs of an article from The New Republic, August 25, 1947, p. 19:

"There'll Be Plenty to Burn," by Ellen Mason
(After this title comes a sub-title to show the busy reader what the following article is about . . .)

"The nightmare of American starvation for oil has finally been put to rest; scientists promise to produce it competitively from coal, shale, and gas.

"Off and on for 20 years, a nightmare has paraded through the dreams of America's national planners: it is the spectacle of a nation without oil, of millions of automobiles parked uselessly in garages, of ponderous machinery grinding to its death without lubrication, of an Army, Navy and Air force pinned helplessly to their bases for lack of liquid fuel. For 20 years the nightmare has been accompanied by the black prophecies of slide-rule-and-statistics scholars: America's oil reserve will last for 20 years, for 15 years, for nine years.

"This summer, for the first time, the nightmare seems to have been rendered a thin and tissueless fantasy. For several years, the Department of the Interior and private industry have been experimenting with the conversion of coal, oil shale, and natural gas into oil. Progress has been so great that the Department can now declare:

(Four technical achievements are listed.....)

"Experimental success has come with very little time to spare. The basic elements of the old nightmare contained an alarming degree of truth. The United States has only a limited supply of oil with which to face an increasingly mechanized and oil-using future. Our proved oil reserves—the amount of oil recoverable by the latest methods from known fields—total only 22 billion barrels."

* * *

Following these first three paragraphs come 34 more paragraphs giving factual information on oil resources, a description of the processes by which oil can now be made from coal, oil shale, and natural gas, and ending with a review of present manufacturing plans and possibilities. All in all, the article is sober and well written, contains statistics and technical description, and throws light on a topic of national importance.

It is the first three paragraphs, quoted above, that try to attract the reader's attention by bringing him to think of the situation in terms of sudden collapse, a situation which is clearly ridiculous in a matter of this kind. This exciting presentation is important in American journalistic writing, and especially in "feature articles," i.e., articles of interest to a large number of people written to be read easily, quickly, and with general understanding of the main points.

In the rush of modern life, where reading takes up so large a part of our time and energy, such writing has become very popular. The great trouble of course is that such popular feature writing usually conveys its point by generalizations or half-truths that rest on only a few facts, assumptions, or examples either carefully selected by the writer, or else that mark his own limit of knowledge on the subject. Often the author does not have time to do careful study for short feature articles, and the modern man does not have time to do much thinking about what he reads every day in his newspapers and magazines, and what he hears every night on the radio.

Thus, too wide and too constant feature and periodical reading can lead one away from a sense of perspective on the major issues in our own world, and also away from writing that presents its story in less dramatic style.

While the article referred to above does give much solid information, the first three paragraphs can be re-written into two or three easy sentences that carry the main ideas and lead into the rest of the article. If you want to practice straight, simple expression, here is a good exercise of your ability as a writer of English. See what you can do in selecting the important ideas and writing them into two or three sentences!

Burck in The Chicago Times

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

THE action of the United Nations' on Korea was copiously commented on by American newspapers last week as indicating a definite showdown between the USSR and the rest of the world. The need for a popular government in China if Communism is to be resisted, was the subject of a *New York Herald Tribune* editorial, while another editorial by the same newspaper dealt with the erroneous opinion held by some people that the Asiatics are incapable of ruling themselves.

• • •

Korea

"THE announced boycott by the Soviet bloc of the United Nations' action on Korea presages a definite showdown between the USSR and the rest of the world when the UN commission moves to set up a unified government in Korea," the *New York Times* stressed.

"The lines are so clearly drawn," the paper continued, "that there can be no confusion of the issue. If the full Assembly approves the action, and there seems to be no question that it will, since all its members were represented on the Political Committee, the Soviet Union will be left only with the alternative of acquiescence or open defiance.

"World opinion appears to be solidly aligned behind the U.S. position, which is that two years of deadlock have clearly shown the impossibility of agreement between the two occupying powers, and that the best solution is to entrust the task of setting up a free and representative government in Korea to a United Nations commission. This commission, which now has been appointed, is charged with the holding of an election in both north and south Korea by next March 31, establishment of a national Government and the withdrawal of both U.S. and Soviet troops. It is difficult to see how the Soviet delegates can find reasonable ground on which to attack the action by the Political Committee," the paper concluded.

• • •

China

THE *New York Herald-Tribune* editorially disclosed that many American officials are worried over the increasing strength of the Chinese Communists and would like to find some means to strengthen resistance to them, but unfortunately every course proposed has dangers.

"American military and naval officers (although not without exception) propose that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek be strengthened until he can defeat the Reds in the field. Some officers make the qualification that American aid be given under conditions calling for close supervision.

"An obvious objection to this idea is that Generalissimo Chiang has more sheer military strength than the Reds and never has won a victory. The primary reason is that his Government is unpopular in most areas of China. Secondary reasons are that it is inefficient and corrupt.... If the rascals in the Government were thrown out—perhaps into the most inconvenient prisons—and able and honest men gained more power, the Communist threat in China would soon be less serious than it is now. The fundamental need is not for American aid but for the creation of governments that have popular support if Communism is to be resisted in Asia."

• • •

Asia

REFUTING occasional comments to the effect that Asiatics never can learn to rule themselves and will long regret the departure of European administrators from areas that are now self-governing or will become so soon, the *New York Herald-Tribune* said that "such comments are made after observing surface conditions and not as a product of thorough study of Asia."

"There is no sound reason to believe that inhabitants of Asia have any less basic capacity for handling their own affairs than inhabitants of any other continent.

"Political systems existed in Asia before they were known in Europe. Governments of many kinds, some of them of superior quality, have been created in Asia in the past and have flourished for long periods. So far as culture is concerned, the Chinese culture that went into a period of radical change at the time of the fall of the Manchus had been relatively stable for a longer period than any other culture the world ever has known.

"The current troubles in Asia arise from many causes. One major one, certainly, is that millions of Asiatics have been ruled by foreigners for periods ranging from a generation or two, as in Indo-China, to hundreds of years, as in Java. During the period of rule by foreigners, Asiatics developed loyalties other than their loyalty to the State. In some areas religious feeling became intensified. In others, class or caste loyalties replaced patriotism. In still others, family or clan systems became stronger.

"The Asiatic, finding himself ruled by outlanders, replaced devotion to the State, or devotion to a culture that controlled his behavior, with some other emotional attachment. He became a Moslem or Hindu, in his mind, rather than an Indian, or a member of the Ho family rather than a responsible citizen of Annam, or a member of a small and secret political faction in one corner of Java rather than a Javanese.

"Such attitudes will not change completely, of course, for years or generations. But they can be changed—in some countries the change is already taking place—and there is no good cause for believing that satisfactory government of Asiatics by Asiatics is impossible or that it will not be found in many nations of the East in the future."

Who's Who in China

TSIEN TAI, Ambassador to France; born in Chiashan, Chekiang, 1888; passed the Imperial examinations and received the Yu Kung (meritorius senior licentiate) degree, 1906; went to France to study law and received LL.D. degree, University of Paris; after return became

Dr. Tsien Tai

(錢泰)

deputy Judge, Peking Local Court; appointed a secretary and later councillor, Ministry of Justice, 1915; appointed member of the committee to study international affairs, 1917; member of the preparation committee for participation in the European Peace Conference, 1918; technical expert to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919; member of the commission to take over Russian Courts on the Chinese Eastern Railway and concurrently assistant councillor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1919; director of the Treaty Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1920-28; legal expert to the Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference 1921; appointed assistant director of the secretariat of the Cabinet, 1922; expert to the Commission for the Readjustment of Finance, 1923, departmental director, Customs Conference, 1923; technical delegate and chairman of Commission to the Sino-Soviet Conference 1926; councillor to the commission for the investigation of extraterritoriality, 1923; acting Vice-Minister, Foreign Affairs, 1926; councillor to the Judicial Yuan, 1928; Chinese delegate for the negotiations pertaining to the establishment of the special district court in the International Settlement in Shanghai, 1929; technical delegate to the Sino-Soviet Conference, Moscow; appointed a Department Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1931; Departmental Director of the Chinese Assessor's Office to the Lytton Commission, 1932; deputy delegate and delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1932-39; Minister to Spain, 1933-37; Ambassador to Belgium, 1937-40; delegate to the Nine Power Conference, 1937; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1941-42; Ambassador to the Belgian and Norwegian Governments in England, 1943-44; diplomatic representative with the rank of Ambassador to the French Committee of National Liberation, 1944; delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, 1946; delegate to the first Assembly of UNO, 1946; chief delegate to the XII Postal Congress, 1947; chief delegate to the Special Cereales Conference, 1947; Ambassador to France since 1944; author of "Le Pouvoir Legislatif en Chine" (published in Paris, 1914); address: Chinese Embassy, Paris.

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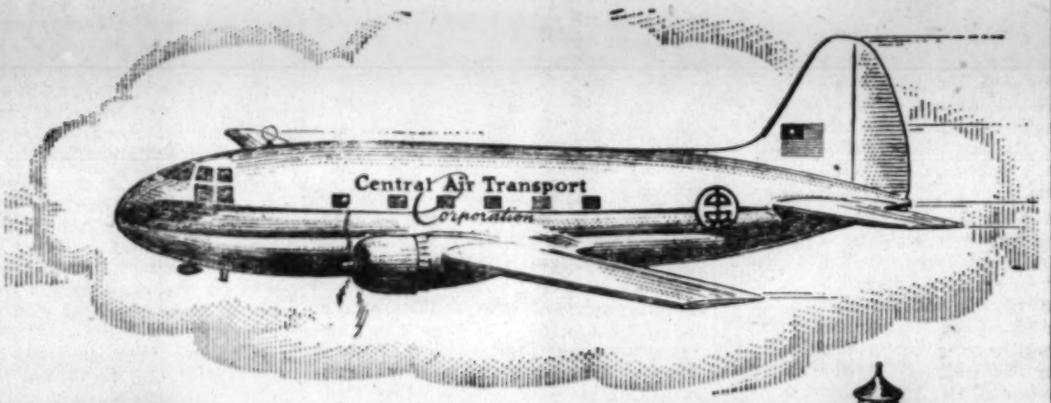

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What Chinese Papers Say

THE anniversary of the Soviet October Revolution was the subject of considerable editorial comments in the Chinese papers, which unanimously stressed the importance of improving relations between these two countries. United States policy in China and the drafted Press Law now under consideration by the Government were criticized

* * *

October Revolution

THE official Kuomintang organ, *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, editorially congratulated the Soviet people, who since the victorious conclusion of the war have been devoting all their energy to the important task of national rehabilitation and reconstruction.

"The histories of the revolutions in China and in the Soviet Union are alike in many respects," the paper said. "After the successful conclusion of the Soviet Revolution, both China and Soviet Russia made efforts to strengthen the bonds of friendship between themselves. Although relations between the two countries have been unpleasant on certain occasions, yet it is safe to say that on the whole their relations have been improving.

"We do not deny that there are certain post-war problems between China and the Soviet Union which have not yet been satisfactorily solved. What we regret most is the fact that the Soviet authorities do not quite understand the political situation in China. The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance has not been thoroughly carried out. . . . We are sure that in the not distant future, Soviet Russia will gain a correct understanding of our stand and the political situation in our country.

In conclusion, the paper emphasized that with the intensification of the struggle between the two blocs of nations in Europe, a strong China will serve to alleviate the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union and become a stabilizing factor in safeguarding peace in the world as well as in Asia.

The *Ta Kung Pao* pointed out that China should study and understand the Soviet Union, because today the Soviet Union is a world power to be reckoned with.

"The period during which the Soviet Union claimed to be surrounded by the capitalist world is now over; today the Soviet Union is strong enough to produce a decisive effect on world politics. There is no reason why any nation or any individual, whether you like it or not, should not seek to understand the Soviet Union. Since China and the Soviet Union are such close neighbors, it is all the more necessary for us Chinese to study this new type of nation which has risen only recently.

"The Soviet Union has already realized the major portion of mankind's ideal, namely, the introduction and carrying out of a new economic system. Of course she should value the results she has achieved and seek further progress.

"We Chinese should study and understand the Soviet Union and keep out of the American-Soviet conflict so that we may serve as a bridge between the two great powers of the world in order to bring happiness to the world and save mankind," the paper concluded.

* * *

Press Law

THE *Ta Kung Pao*, in commenting on the drafted Press Law, stated that the said law is more negative than positive in character in as much as every one of the articles of law provides for inhibition and punishment for newspapers and newspapermen, and none of them provides for protection for newspapers and journalists when their freedoms and rights are illegally infringed upon.

"Since V-J Day, there have been very few cases where bad newspapermen have been charged with dereliction of duty. On the contrary, there have been a large number of cases of interfering with the gathering of news, restricting the freedom of the press, smashing newspaper offices, beating up newspapermen and illegal arrests of journalists. In China, in spite of the constitution, martial law can be proclaimed anywhere at any time. The publishing industry enjoys very little protection. This is unfair and unjust."

In the opinion of the paper, some of the government restrictions are so ambiguous as to be all-inclusive. "Take, for instance, the provision that a publication may not impair China's relations with any other country. During the past two years, the Soviet *Pravda* and the American *New York Times* have been unceasingly criticizing each other's country. Furthermore, the names of Truman and Stalin have often been mentioned. Yet we have never heard that these two papers have been punished on charges of 'impairing relations with foreign countries', or of 'publishing articles derogatory to the head of state of a friendly nation.'

"More than 50 United Nations maintain diplomatic relations with country. Such restrictions are tantamount to nullifying the purpose of the press as an instrument for assisting in people diplomacy and converting the press into a machinery merely for singing praises. Chapter Four of the new Press Law entitled "Restrictions on materials to be carried by publications' is undoubtedly the cream of the law and yet we feel that the articles contained therein are either repetitions of the regulations already in force or too rigid and ambiguous.

"After the Constitution is enforced, the Chinese Government will become a Government controlled by the parties in power. All democracies supervise the activities of the political parties in office by means of the press. Today, Tory newspapers in Britain are bitterly attacking the Labor Government. Have the Tory papers been charged with 'attempting to overthrow the Government?' No. If after the constitution is implemented in this country the Government still wants to gag the press on charges of overthrowing the Government, the spirit of the constitution will be limited indeed.

"Today there is no absolute freedom of the press in the world. What the Chinese people hope for it only a certain degree of relative freedom. The publishing houses have long tolerated the registration regulations without any complaint and they have never opposed the restrictions on publication of information of a military character. However, China certainly will not be in a state of war forever.

"Freedom of the press is perhaps the most tangible of the four freedoms. It is an acid test for the Government's determination to enforce the Constitution."

* * *

US Policy

THERE have been indications that U.S. policy in China is changing, the *Yi Shih Pao*, Catholic Organ, editorialized. These indications are:

"1. United States public opinion is advocating immediate extension of aid to China. Since the publication of Bullitt's article the public cry for aid to China has become louder than ever before.

"2. Attention of the United States Government and people is being gradually focussed on the Far East.

"3. There are quite a number of United States Congressmen who feel the aid program which the special session of Congress is taking up for discussion should include China.

"4. As the result of the visit of Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh to Washington, it was widely reported that the United States Government has a better understanding of the situation in China and President Truman is understood to have approved a loan to Nanking.

However, there are still great hinderances to a US loan to China, the paper warned. "The United States Government has already spent large sums in aiding China and much of the money has been wasted. . . To extend aid to China at the present time might endanger the Marshall Plan of aid to Europe."

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72	4	76	6	8	78	2	10	12	16	TRAIN NO.	1	5	15	7	71	3	9	11	75	77
"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	II, III Local	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II Nanking Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	STATIONS	I, II Hangchow Throu. Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	II, III Local	II, III Local Exp.
8.30	7.00	7.30	9.00	11.00	12.15	13.30	21.50	23.00	23.30	D SHANGHAI NORTH A ↑	14.45	16.25	18.25	19.35	22.20	22.45	6.35	8.00	10.25	17.10
		8.55	10.16	12.14	13.48		23.27		0.56	D KUNSHAN D		15.24	17.09	18.22			5.28		8.34	16.05
10.13	8.41	9.42	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	1.43	A D	13.06	14.33	16.23	17.36	20.31	21.06	4.39	5.39	7.10	15.19
10.18	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
11.10	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A WUSIH D	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	D A	12.04	13.18	15.08	16.21		20.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
	10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	4.13	D A	11.06	12.09	13.55	15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20		
	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A TANYANG D		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
	11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	5.20	D A		11.05	12.37	13.55		18.08	1.02	2.00		
	12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	6.02	A CHINKIANG WEST D	9.32	10.28	11.44	13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07		
	12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	6.09	D A	9.24	10.21	11.38	12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00		
	13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.15	7.50	↓ A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00		

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	30,000.	44,000.	16,000.	22,000.	8,000.	12,000.			
SOOCHOW	87	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	12,000.	16,000.	142,000.	84,000.	142,000.
WUSIH	129	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	142,000.	84,000.	156,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	88,000.	116,000.	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
TANYANG	213	116,000.	144,000.	58,000.	72,000.	30,000	36,000.	174,000.	102,000.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	130,000.	160,000.	66,000.	80,000.	34,000.	40,000.	192,000.	112,000.	
NANKING	312	130,000.	160,000.	66,000.	80,000.	34,000.	40,000.	192,000.	112,000.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A ↑	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.48	17.08	17.51	23.55	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.23	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	KASHING	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A D	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	CHANGAN-TSENG A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.35	↓ A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	30,000.	44,000.	16,000.	22,000.	8,000.	12,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
KASHING	99	58,000.	72,000.	30,000.	36,000.	16,000.	18,000.	142,000.	84,000.	142,000.
YEHZAH	126	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	88,000.	116,000.	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
HANGCHOW	190	88,000.	116,000.	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	142,000.	84,000.	156,000.

NANKING-SHANGHAI RAILWAY SYSTEM ADMINISTRATION

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